WITH

THE BOERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

WITH

THE BOERS IN THE TRANSVAAL

AND

ORANGE FREE STATE

IN

1880—1.

BY

CHARLES L. NORRIS-NEWMAN,

SPECIAL WAR CORRESPONDENT AND AUTHOR OF "IN ZULULAND WITH THE BRITISH."

SECOND EDITION,

WITH NEW MAP OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

AND

TEXT OF THE CONVENTION OF 1884.

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Inscribed

TO THE MEMORY

OF THE LATE

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE POMEROY COLLEY,

K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G.,

WHOSE EMINENT SERVICES, BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY, WERE BEGUN AND ENDED IN SOUTH AFRICA; AND BY WHOSE EARLY DEATH,—WHILE LEADING THE BRITISH FORCES AGAINST THE TRANSVAAL BOERS,—HIS QUEEN LOST A FAITHFUL SERVANT; HIS COUNTRY, AN ABLE SOLDIER AND DIPLOMÂT; NATAL, THE BEST GOVERNOR SHE EVER HAD; AND THE AUTHOR, A VALUED FRIEND.

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INTRODUCTION.

It would be altogether impossible to commence a detailed account of the recent disturbances in the Transvaal without going back to the earliest days of the foundation of its settlement, in order to get at the original causes and effects which have, in the course of about forty years, led again to a collision between the two leading white races in South Africa, and a series of disastrous native wars—not yet finished, I fear—and, therefore, in order to enable my readers to have a clear and thorough conception of the state of affairs in the Transvaal just previous to the outbreak of 1880, it will be necessary for me to begin with the days of the Cape settlement by the English; and to show, gradually and consecutively, how the recent sad state of affairs has been brought about. The result is due partially, I admit, to the peculiarities and untractableness of the Boers themselves; but, principally, to the undoubted mismanagement and wilful blindness of the Imperial authorities both at home and out here, as evidenced by the various and contradictory policies pursued by successive Governors.

For many years South Africa was a *terra incognita* to all in Great Britain except to the officials whose department had the government thereof. To others the idea simply was that the Cape was the half-way port between England and India, a naval and military station of more or less importance, which gave employment to a certain number of colonial officials and contributed little, if anything, to the general wealth or welfare of the great British Empire. These ideas received little or no modification until diamonds and subsequently gold, copper, and other minerals were found in such quantities as to cause

a rush of people of all classes from Great Britain and various other parts of the globe. Then, indeed, the Home Government and people woke up to the importance of the British South African Colonies, and set to work to reorganize the systems of government then in vogue—by strengthening the hands of the colonial authorities, laying down a definite policy and striving to weld the different Colonies and Free States into something like unity. A tide of emigration set in, railways and other works were projected, and a grand future was prophesied for South Africa—how justly time will prove. As showing how South Africa was despised and undervalued as a field for emigration up to that time, the following extract from a semi-official work on Australian Emigration (published in London about twenty years ago) will go far to justify my opinions and corroborate my remarks. After referring to the advantages of Australia this work continues :—

"With all our boasts of an 'Empire on which the sun never sets'—a travestie, by the bye, of an old Spanish saying, which subsequent events have made a rhodomontade as empty as may one day be our own—England has *two colonies only*, besides those in the Pacific, to which a man can emigrate. The first, Canada, is one of the most unsuitable possible in point of climate or locality ; the first forbidding labour of an agricultural kind during the greater portion of the year, and the second demanding a longer time before actual location than is consumed by a voyage to Australia or New Zealand, where domiciliation and employment await the emigrant at once on his arrival. The second emigration colony, *if it can be so called*, is South Africa ; the chief gains of the colonists, for the most part Dutchmen, arising from the disputes they can foment between the natives and the authorities, in the hope of profiting by the expenditure of the Commissariat, of which England has had but too lamentable proof in the expenditure of many millions, for no earthly purpose than that of enabling the Cape Colonists to take advantage of the English determination to preserve the integrity of the empire at any cost. Beyond these two colonies, we have, notwithstanding the vastness of our colonial empire, no other location

but the Australian and New Zealand Colonies worthy of a moment's consideration to the intending emigrant. Canada, on the first decadence of the English power—and that may not be far distant—will naturally fall into the United States of America, if the union last so long; and South Africa is scarcely worth consideration, as a colonial dependency, upon any terms, either in point of produce or political advantages. As for the new settlements in South Africa, they can be characterized as little less than deliberate frauds committed on English ignorance, though with Government sanction; not one of their pretensions being realized, or ever likely to become so.'

This is strong and plain language, but is undoubtedly a faithful reproduction of the opinion of the bulk of the people of Great Britain at that time upon South African settlements; and with little alteration would fairly represent the written opinions of the more recent celebrated semi-historians who have visited South Africa for literary purposes since she sprang so suddenly up into prominent notice. Ideas almost similar have been extensively circulated, even up to the present time, by nearly the whole of the London Press; while even those most interested, and most hopeful of the future of South Africa, either as a Confederated State or Crown Colony, can but honestly admit the truth of the greater portion of these remarks, and long for the powers of self-government granted to Australia and Canada.

Bearing these views in mind at the commencement, it will not be difficult to trace and comprehend the consecutive events which have led up to the present still unsatisfactory state of affairs, by, on the one hand, rekindling the slumbering feelings of race hatred already bitter enough between the two dominant white races in South Africa; while, on the other, creating bitter feelings between the colonists themselves and the Imperial Government. Both races combined have been and still are barely sufficient to manage the conduct of their own interior affairs, and control the large native population, consisting both of those belonging to the soil and the refugees from other surrounding tribes, the former of whom migrate

further north as civilization advances, while the latter seem only too glad to come under the more settled system of government of the white race, and quickly learn all the evils, but only slowly appreciate and conform to the benefits, consequent thereon.

In the whole history of the world there have been known only two systems of colonizing a new country, the inhabitants of which were totally uncivilized, viz. :—quick and ruthless extermination, and a constant war of the one against the other, as always practised by the Dutch South Africans and in America; or the slower and more difficult method of amalgamation and protection. Which of the two systems—for both have been tried—has succeeded best out here, every one understanding the occurrences of the last half-century will be able to judge. So far as the Boers and those natives more immediately in and around the Transvaal are concerned, I hope, in the course of this work, to clearly show the course of events up to now, and the probable outcome in the not far-distant future.

Having thus explained my object, and the means by which I hope to attain it, I need no apology for occupying the first few chapters of this work with a chronological history, complete though epitomized, of the Cape Colony. To follow out and gain a fair view of both sides of a question, even in momentous European affairs, is undoubtedly a matter of very great difficulty, for the reason that Britons are not generally acquainted with the subject, have little or no knowledge of the country in which such affairs occur, and are not actually present on or near the scene of action at the time. How much more so, when the scene of action lies in South Africa, a country, until within the last half-century, little thought of or appreciated by the population of Great Britain, either as an available field for emigration, or a valuable addition to the colonial empire. And, notwithstanding the unpleasant fact of John Bull having had to pay dearly in men, money, and reputation for the management (or mismanagement?) of South African affairs during the greater portion of that time; and in spite of the published—though in some things misleading—

works of such eminent men as Froude, Trollope, Bissett, Noble, and others, and the teachings of the recent wars, I venture to doubt whether even now the average British taxpayer, unless in some way personally connected with the South African Colonies or States, knows more of the exact position of affairs, and what has led to them out here, than can be gathered from the hasty telegrams, and one-sided views espoused through party and prejudice, and expressed by both the Home and part of the Colonial Press.

The late rising in the Transvaal, following so quickly on the Zulu War, and costing the country such a large amount of blood, treasure, and even obloquy, having attracted more attention throughout the whole civilized world than almost any other South African event of this century, it has been suggested to me that a concise, but unprejudiced review of the origin, progress, present position, and probable ending of the Transvaal question, might serve to elucidate much that has hitherto been misunderstood, and throw the light of truth upon much previously concealed. I have therefore entered upon the work *con amore*, in the belief that, from my intimate knowledge of the country, its history, people, and customs, gained during a six years' residence in South Africa, as a constant contributor to the Home and Colonial Press, and a special war correspondent throughout the recent campaigns, my statements of facts will merit the attention of the reading public; my not hastily formed opinions, the candid though fair criticism of those who may differ from them; and the whole work, the approbation of those more directly interested in the subject therein treated. And if the publication of this volume conduces to the development of a more liberal feeling towards our future colonists, the Boers—the early pioneers of civilization, colonization, and European dominion in South Africa—and to a clearer insight into the many difficult questions now troubling, and likely for many years to trouble, that important portion of Her Majesty's realms, my labours in connection therewith will not have been in vain. I cannot conclude this somewhat discursive but necessary introduction without acknowledging my indebtedness to many works previously

written on kindred topics; but especially to Noble's "South Africa, Past and Present," than which a clearer, more succinct, reliable, or ably written work on the whole question has never yet been published; and I am therefore doubly glad at being able to make use of such an authority for much of the early history of the Boers, as well as in again bringing before the public its value as a work of reference on all South African affairs.

NATAL, *October*, 1881.

WITH

THE BOERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

CHAPTER I.

CAPE HISTORY.

Early Cape History—Forefathers of the Boers—Settlement of the Dutch East India Company—Extension of Colony—Dissatisfaction of the Settlers—Mode of Life—English Rule—Restoration of Dutch Rule—Improved Government System—Recapture by and Final Cession to Great Britain—Native Troubles, 1811–12—Eastern Frontier fixed at Great Fish River—"Slaghters Nek" Rebellion—Commencement of British Immigration—Political Condition—Struggles for Liberty—High-handed Proceedings of Lord C. Somerset—First Royal Commission—Its Recommendations.

The descendants of the early mixed Dutch population of the Cape now inhabit and are spread over a large proportion of the whole of South Africa; throughout the Cape Colony, especially in the more retired portions, the population is mostly of that origin. In Natal there is still a small portion, now, however, rapidly amalgamating with the English; but for the real sample of the early "Voor-trekkers" we have to go to the Orange Free State and the "Transvaal Republic," where we find them the principal inheritors of the land—living thereon in the same rough, simple, uneducated and solitary manner that was so great a characteristic of their forefathers, and one of the principal causes of their voluntary exodus into the wilderness, beginning in 1833 and lasting until 1852. From time to time there have been various names applied to these men, such as Dutch Boers, Afrikanders, and Dutchmen; but

these titles are all more or less misleading or incorrect. It must not be forgotten that although originally the Cape of Good Hope was a Dutch settlement, established purely for the advancement of the exclusive rights of trade of the Dutch East India Company, which owned and governed it, yet even previous to its first capture and final cession to Great Britain, its population, then very mixed, was largely reinforced by events in Europe arising out of the persecution of the Protestants. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, by Louis XIV., and the religious persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont and the Italian Alpine districts, drove hundreds of families of all classes in life to seek homes in other and more tolerant lands. The Dutch Government then generously stepped forward, seized the opportunity, and offered them an asylum. Many of these exiles afterwards emigrated to the Cape, introducing a new element of success and addition to the industrial resources of the country, viz. vine culture, the first vineyard in Constantia being planted in 1688, and they materially helped to found the basis upon which the present successful Cape Colony has arisen. So that it will easily be understood that the introduction of the French Huguenots, Flemings, Germans, Moravians, Piedmontese, Savoyards and others, gave fresh vigour to the enfeebled mercantile settlement, and entirely altered the character and nationality of its inhabitants. The new-comers brought with them their love of freedom, simple habits, and religious ideas, which soon began to clash with the selfish monopoly, and autocratic system of Government then pursued by the different Dutch Governors. Upon their spread inland they still kept together as far as possible in national communities; so that in time districts became either entirely French, Dutch, or German, as the case might be, while the nationality of the early pure Dutch inhabitants, being mixed, both with the natives, and later on with the English, after their arrival in the colony, soon became lost or amalgamated. Before, however, the close of the last century the different languages or dialects had become less used and spoken, and a kind of Dutch patois, now termed Afrikander Dutch, was and is now, in the O. F. State and

Transvaal, almost universally spoken by the inhabitants, and used in connection with all but official business. Moreover, although some traces of a national feeling in favour of the Fatherland may have lingered, the late Judge Watermeyer, himself of Dutch extraction, says that "substantially every man in the colony, of every hue, was benefited when the incubus of the Dutch East India Company was removed and the colony came under British government."

For a long time after its final capture by the English and the close of the Dutch Government, the Cape remained purely a military and naval station; but its limits were being gradually extended by its inhabitants, until at last they came into contact with several powerful native tribes on the east and north, creating a series of disputes about the proprietorship of the soil, which have broken out periodically during this century as the white race advanced, and have lasted with gradually increasing severity and force until the present time. And this was not all; for slavery in all its worst forms was legally recognized by the Dutch Government (the first cargo of slaves from Guinea being brought to the Cape in 1658, and the last in 1807), and eventually produced ruptures between the two races. Later on, its abolition by the English in 1834 confirmed the previous bitter feelings against the more civilized system of government then introduced, and led to an enormous increase in the numbers of those dissatisfied ones who "trekked" further into the interior, out of range of any official restraint, where they were able to enjoy that nomadic life which was so suited to them, obtaining sustenance by killing the game, everywhere plentiful at that time, and living upon the produce of their horses, cattle and sheep. This kind of life had also its drawbacks; for, owing to the steady increase in their flocks, the scarcity of water and constant droughts, it became necessary for these pastoral patriarchs to "trek" still further away. Thus they became totally unaccustomed to any other restraining influence than their own wishes and requirements necessitated. Most of them, however, had been brought up in all the strictness of the Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist,

or Dutch Reformed Churches; and, being deeply read in the simple teaching of the Bible, were able to maintain a fair amount of civilization, which, however, decreased as the younger generations sprang up, uneducated and devoid of any visible examples.

The following extract from a comprehensive work on South African History and Geography, written by Mr. G. M. Theal, and published by the Lovedale Press, a South African Missionary Institution, brings out very clearly the mode of life then existing among the inhabitants, and will still apply to the more remote portion of the Transvaal Boers:—"In Cape Town and its neighbourhood, the ordinary comforts and conveniences of life were obtainable, and were enjoyed by most of the whites; but on the lone farms in the interior, comfort, as it is understood now-a-days, was an unknown word. The hovels in which the graziers lived seldom contained more than two rooms, and frequently only one,"—in which, I may add, the whole family of perhaps two or three generations lived;—"they were destitute of the most ordinary furniture. The great waggon-chest, which served for a table as well as a receptacle for clothing, a couple of camp stools, and a cartel or two—wooden frames with a network of strips of raw hides stretched across them—were the only household goods possessed by many. Crockeryware, so liable to be broken in long land journeys, they could not reasonably be expected to have had; but it is difficult to account for their being without such common and useful articles as knives and forks. A great portion of their clothing was made of the skins of animals; their blankets, like those of the natives, were karosses of skins. They lived in this manner, not from necessity, but through choice and custom. Many of them were very wealthy in flocks and herds, but, having become accustomed to a nomad life, they considered as a superfluity everything that could not easily be removed in a waggon from place to place without damage. A gun, ammunition, and a waggon were the only products of mechanical skill that were absolutely indispensable to a grazier; with these he could provide himself with every other necessary. Some cotton goods for shirts and clothing for females, hats, coffee and sugar, were almost the

only other articles he ever thought of purchasing. Poverty, in that sense of the word which implies a lack of the means of sustaining life, was unknown throughout the colony. Every white person had food in abundance, and might have had more of the comforts of life if their use had been known or their want felt. The people of the interior were rude, ignorant, and sometimes cruel. The last of these qualities was the effect partly of their holding human beings in slavery, and partly from their having had for a long period the native races of the country at their mercy, without any check from the Government."

Notwithstanding all the efforts of successive Governments to provide for their civil and religious wants, by taking in the districts inhabited by them—thus enlarging the colony—by appointing magistrates and clergymen to minister to their requirements, they improved very little until the transfer of government to the English in 1795. The Dutch inhabitants, for the most part, then made the best of circumstances, and accepted the change in government, accompanied as it was by most liberal promises for the future—with the exception of a portion in the more remote districts. In Graaf-Reinet, which district was established as a magistracy in 1796, many of the Burghers refused to take the oath of allegiance, joined those of Swellundam, ejected their Landdrosts, and rose in open rebellion. This necessitated the first advance of British troops into that part of the country to awe the refractory and install the new magistrate in his office. Sir John Barrow accompanied this force, and afterwards published his well-known work on South Africa, which was the first book written on the subject, and obtained much attention and popularity at the time, while giving much publicity to South African affairs. Border quarrels with the natives, brought on principally by cattle thefts and retaliation, but ending in victory to neither side, were constant throughout the first seven years during which the English Government held the Cape; and finally a sort of patched-up peace was made with the Kaffir tribes and Hottentots, just previous to the execution of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, by which the colony reverted to its original owners. During the British occupancy, however,

over £1,000,000 sterling had been spent on defensive and other purely military works, which materially assisted the onward progress of the colony. The first thing done by the new Dutch Governor Janssens, was to journey throughout the colony, visiting the frontiers, settlers, and native chiefs, listening to their grievances, and striving earnestly to provide for their remedy in the future; and this was the earliest and first step taken in the right direction towards a juster, truer, and more liberal treatment of both the white and black inhabitants of the Cape Colony.

The improved administration thus begun had little time given it to develop, as upon war breaking out again in Europe between England and France, the importance of such a station for naval and military purposes was so great that a fleet and complement of soldiers was sent out to recapture it. This was done by General Sir D. Baird, after a gallant though useless defence made by General Janssens at the head of his Dutch forces and native allies. The capitulation was confirmed shortly afterwards, and in 1806, the Cape again came under British government, and has remained so ever since. The total population at that time was about 62,000, exclusive of Kaffirs, divided as follows:—21,000 whites, 26,000 slaves, and 15,000 Hottentots; with a revenue of under £100,000. Cape Town alone had about 1,200 houses, inhabited by 5,500 whites, and 10,000 slaves. Mr. Noble, in his work, says, with reference to this period:—"The Cape of Good Hope for some years after this continued to be regarded by the British Government as merely a temporary possession by conquest; but the achievements of the allied forces in Europe having secured a permanent peace, in 1814, a convention was then agreed to, between the Prince, Sovereign of the restored and United Netherlands, and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, by which, in consideration of certain charges provided by the latter for the defence of the Low Countries, and their settlement in union with Holland, the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, together with Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, was ceded in perpetuity to the British Crown. The colony thus definitively became a sharer in the importance of the mother country, and in the benefits of her

commercial power." Things, after this, went on quietly and slowly, but progressively, the presence of a large military force necessitating a heavy expenditure, and producing a corresponding amount of agricultural industry and commercial activity. The condition of the towns improved rapidly, but the larger and more scattered rural population was still far behind in educational and social advantages. Being in isolated positions, and far away from one another, the young people of both sexes had little or no communication with others than those in their own immediate family circle, so they necessarily grew up without a knowledge of even the rudiments of education, with selfish views, and bigoted and narrow-minded opinions. As these also married and had families it became necessary for them to leave the paternal home and "trek" away still further, with the share of cattle, &c., given them for a start by their relations, as is customary among them. As the eastern border of the colony had been fixed at the Fish River in 1778, and the country beyond swarmed with Kaffirs (many of whom were settled even to the west of the border or within Cape territory), there was little inducement for these men to go eastward. Consequently, as a vast expanse of country more suited to pastoral pursuits, and less thickly populated with natives, lay away to the north, they chose that direction and soon began to establish themselves over the then almost imaginary northern border line. To do away with or lessen cattle-thieving and border quarrels, steps were taken by the Government, on the recommendation of Colonel Collins, in 1809, to drive out all the Kaffirs, then living in the colony, over the Fish River, and to compel them to remain there. A force to effect this object was collected, consisting of some military and some Burghers, the former under Colonel Graham, and the latter under Mr. Stockenstrom, the first English Landdrost of Graaf Reinet. The end in view was attained, though with the loss, through treachery, of Mr. Stockenstrom and several Burghers; and for some time afterwards a chain of forts, about a mile apart, defended the Fish River border and kept the Kaffirs in check, Grahamstown becoming the advanced head quarters of the military.

Again, for some years, peace reigned, and was only broken

by an attempt at rebellion in 1815, brought about by a party of Dutch Burghers in a quarrel of one of them, Bezuidenhout, with his Hottentot servant. The interference of a field cornet, their own appointed local officer, was resisted, and the escort accompanying him was fired upon by Bezuidenhout, who was thereupon quickly shot. His relatives assembled to urge and carry out reprisals, and tried to obtain the aid of the natives against their so-called tyrants. The officer in command of the nearest military station promptly arrested the ringleader, H. Prinsloo, and martial law was proclaimed. The insurgents, however, assembled in arms, but finding the native chiefs would not assist them, and seeing the strong preparations made by the military for their punishment, the leaders fled, while their followers laid down their arms and appealed for mercy. Some of the latter were pardoned, but over thirty were tried for high treason, in Uitenhage, and five of them were found guilty and executed. Their names were Hendrick Prinsloo, Cornelius Faber, Abraham Bothma, Stephanus Bothma, and Theunis de Klerk. The others were transported or banished, and thus ended the "Slaghters Nek" rebellion. But the bitter feelings then created have borne fruit ever since. In 1820, a scheme was proposed by Lord Charles Somerset, the then Governor, to induce English emigrants to fill up the border districts or neutral ground (then recently evacuated by the Kaffirs), by free land grants; and the British Government having voted £50,000, just after the close of the great war with Napoleon Bonaparte, large numbers being unemployed at the time, there were nearly 100,000 applications, of which only about 5,000 were accepted and the persons sent out. These settlers, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, after many trials and vicissitudes, succeeded in finally establishing themselves, and to their energy and perseverance that part of the country now called the Eastern Province owes its present proud position of being first and foremost in agriculture, commerce, and enterprise.

Between 1820 (in which year the Royal observatory was founded) and 1834, when the first great Kaffir war broke out, some civil and judicial reforms were carried out; the liberty

of the Press was secured after a hard struggle—with which the name of John Fairbairn is indelibly connected—and native affairs were placed on a different basis. But all this was as nothing, as against the system of absolute despotism of Government carried out by Lord Charles Somerset, which quickly provoked the love of liberty and spirit of grumbling inherent in the English nation. In these struggles for more liberty and a less oppressive system of government, the more recent English colonists were joined by their Dutch brethren. Mr. Fairbairn, in describing the condition of the colony in 1827, paid the following high tribute to the character of the Cape Dutch population :—"For industry, loyalty, filial attachment, and all the features and virtues of a rising community, they would stand high in comparison with any nation on record. Their love of freedom also is strong and unquenchable, and their notion of it is simple and just; they despise declamation, and seldom, if ever, use the word 'liberty.' But, speak to them of security to person and property,—of the power of checking a bad and foolish Government by a popular assembly, —of aiding the judge in the discovery of truth, and standing between the accused and the rancour and blindness of a political bench,—of regulating the taxes by the local knowledge of those who have to pay them,—and you will at once perceive that, without having read, they have the law of liberty written in their hearts."

Similar language has been more recently used by the Transvaal Boers in their declarations, during the struggle for independence, and shows that the same feelings exist among them now as formerly. Public feeling at that time ran so high that steps were taken to call together public meetings for the consideration and expression of their grievances, in order to make them more fully known to the Government. But a high-handed proclamation was issued by the Governor in 1822, notifying that public meetings for the discussion of official and political subjects were contrary to the ancient laws, and any contravention thereof would be severely punished. He also resuscitated a number of old laws of the Dutch East India Company; including one prohibiting all trade with Kaffirs.

But the most important, and that which produced the worst effect, undoubtedly, was one which prevented any of the colonists or their servants from going about the country without an official pass, under penalty of being arrested and thrown into prison. This was an invasion of the rights of the subject, such as has been rarely heard of or exercised in a so-called free country; and its outcome was not long in showing itself. Not being able to meet together to discuss matters publicly, the colonists got up a memorial addressed to Earl Bathurst, which came before the House of Commons and resulted in a Royal Commission being formed, consisting of three independent members, Messrs. Bigge, Colebrook, and Blair, who visited the country and concluded their report in 1826. Some of the recommendations contained therein and subsequently carried out were:—The separation of the colony into two provinces, the Western and Eastern; the appointment of a chief magistrate on the frontier, uniting in his hands the civil and military power in connection with the treatment of the border natives; the appointment of a supreme and circuit courts; the abolition of all monopolies; the appointment of civil commissioners instead of landdrosts, several districts being sub-divided and new magistrates established; and, finally, the English language was ordered to be exclusively used in all official proceedings and documents. As far back as 1823, all documents issued from the Colonial Office had been drawn up in English, as also were all official notices in the colony, after 1825; but the order for the employment of the English language exclusively in judicial acts and throughout the colony did not take effect until the year 1827.

CHAPTER II.

CAPE HISTORY—*continued.*

First Lighthouse and Newspapers—First Commissioner-General, Mr. Stockenstrom—Treaty with Ngaika—Second Kaffir War, 1818—Eastern Border extended to the Keiskamma River—Kat River Hottentot Settlement—Border Raids and Reprisals—New Native System introduced—Discontent of the Farmers—Third Kaffir War, 1834-35—Energy of Colonel (Sir H.) Smith—Fingoes located between Fish and Keiskamma Rivers—Country annexed up to Kat River—Abolition of Slavery—Beginning of Race Hatred—Aylward's Plea for early Boer Independence—Native Wars, 1846-8, 1850-3, 1876-7.

The first lighthouse at Green Point was erected on the coast of South Africa in 1824, and the same year saw the publication of the first Cape newspaper, *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, in Dutch and English, by Mr. Greig, of Cape Town, under the joint supervision and editorship of Messrs. Fairbairn and Pringle. The former of these gentlemen was an able writer, brilliant speaker, and humane philanthropist; while the latter was also an able writer, a poet of no mean merit, and a personal friend of Sir Walter Scott. He was also the first librarian to the South African Public Library, the beginning of which was formed in 1761, though it was not made much use of, as a public institution, until the year 1800, on the publication of the first Government *Gazette*, which occurred towards the close of the first British occupation. From this time commences a new era in South African history. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Andries Stockenstrom, who had been officially connected with the government of the border colonists and natives all his life, and who had an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of both the Boers and Kaffirs, was the first Commissioner-General appointed to take charge of the Border under the recommendations of the Royal Commission. But the anomaly of the position was soon made manifest; as, owing to his disapproval of the system hitherto in vogue of military

patrols and Burgher reprisals, and his being totally at variance with the ideas of his immediate superior, the Governor, it seemed impossible for the civil and military powers to work together.

The state of affairs on the border with the natives was now becoming critical; and from the time of Lord Charles Somerset's acknowledgment of Ngaika as the supreme chief of the Amaxosa tribes in Kaffirland, in 1817, troubles commenced, first between Ngaika and other Amaxosa chiefs, who refused to acknowledge his supremacy, and in which we supported Ngaika; and then between the Border colonists and the whole of the natives combined. A cattle dispute led to a combined attack of natives upon Ngaika, who was defeated with great loss, and compelled to fly to the mountains. The Colonial Government then came to his assistance, sent 4,000 troops under Colonel Brereton in 1818, routed the enemy under Ndlambe, reinstated Ngaika, and captured 20,000 head of cattle, half of which were given to Ngaika, and the rest divided as compensation among those Boers and colonists along the Border who had suffered from the Kaffir raids. Shortly afterwards the beaten tribes re-united invaded the colony under their celebrated prophet chief, Makanna (the Lynx). They cleared the district of its inhabitants and their stock, penetrated as far as Uitenhage, and even attacked the garrison town, Grahamstown, with such bravery as to render the issue doubtful but for the reinforcements of Hottentots and guns which came up, and succeeded in driving off the invaders. This severe lesson frightened the colonists so much that they determined to follow up their slight advantage while they were able. An enormous combined force of military, Burghers, and native allies was poured into Kaffirland, breaking up the power of the various tribes, and capturing 30,000 head of cattle. This closed the second Kaffir war, after which the boundaries of the colony were again extended eastward of the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, the country between them and the Fish River being neutral, and to remain unoccupied; advanced posts were established in Forts Beaufort and Wiltshire, now the centre of British Kaffraria. Lord C. Somerset again visited the frontier and interviewed Ngaika,

who agreed, though unwillingly, a year afterwards to the settlement of the neutral territory. It was also proposed to locate some Scotch Highlanders on the Kat River, and some other settlers on the Ibeka. These plans, however, were never carried out; but the country did not remain long unoccupied, both whites and blacks soon moving into it. Among the latter was Macomo, the eldest son of Ngaika, who was allowed to occupy the very key of Kaffirland without interference by the Government for some time, until his attacking and plundering propensities overcame his feelings of respect for the military power. His tribe, in the course of a squabble with some loyal Tambookies, captured their cattle and murdered many of the men. After this, of course, he was driven out of the tract of land in 1829, and retreated, vowing vengeance against the white race. Six months afterwards the old chief, Ngaika, died, leaving his "great son," Sandilli, a minor, under the regency of Macomo, who was only the "right-hand son." But in this way the latter gained an enormous increase of power, and consolidated the tribes wherever possible.

The clearance of this country, and the necessity for placing some buffer between the Kaffirs and whites, gave Mr. Stockenstrom the occasion and power to carry out a scheme which had previously occurred to him, of settling the scattered descendants of the original Hottentot tribes in locations in that district; and, the Government sanction being obtained, the scheme was soon carried out. The abolition of the semi-slavery laws for the Hottentots in 1828, although at the time much condemned and regretted by the farming portion of the community, was eventually of great benefit to the country. Large numbers of Hottentots had just been released, and the chance of settling themselves in a free life, and under the guidance of civilizing influences, was eagerly seized by many. To the number of nearly 5,000, they were soon settled down on the Kat River, and became an orderly and industrious portion of the colony, and valuable allies in the native wars which occurred in succession in 1819, 1823, 1829, and 1830; until in 1851, when, to the surprise and horror of the colonists, these men, who had been always well treated by the English, joined the

Kaffirs, and were beaten with them, when their lands were forfeited and given up to European families. In those earlier Native wars Burgher "commandoes" were constantly called out to assist the military, causing dissatisfaction among the farmers, and heavy losses to their herds, homes, and businesses. After 1831 the Commissioner-General for Frontier Affairs, Mr. Stockenstrom, again set himself against these border raids and "commandoes," as being both injurious to the colonists and unsettling to the natives. On one occasion he refused his sanction to the military entering Kaffirland with troops on another "commando." This brought matters to a crisis; and as his views did not coincide with those of the Government, or meet with their approbation—though strongly supported by all the Boer and colonial farmers—he applied for leave to visit England, and while there his office was abolished. During this period a tribe of Kaffirs, under Lyali, had occupied, like Macomo, on sufferance during good conduct, a portion of the Kat River settlement; but they were again forcibly removed beyond the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers.

Matters remained in *statu quo* until, in 1834, Sir B. Durban was appointed Governor. Acting under instructions from home, he commenced a policy of friendly intercourse and conciliation with the various frontier chiefs, and desired to enter into treaties with them, and appointed men of high tact, knowledge, and standing as resident agents among them. But, while he was carrying out these schemes, the Gaika tribes united, to the number of about 20,000, under the chief command of Macomo and Lyali, invaded the country without any warning, and spread devastation along the Albany and Somerset Border Districts. The missionaries were the only people not attacked by them, although many had narrow escapes. The Governor at once ordered Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith to the frontier, and this officer's wonderful feat, in journeying 600 miles from Cape Town to Grahamstown in six days, is still remembered both by natives and colonists. The military garrisons in the country had, unfortunately, been considerably reduced during preceding years; but every available man was sent to the front, and all the Burghers were

placed under arms, while martial law was proclaimed, and the Governor himself went forward to the scene of action. A vigorous attack was made on the principal points of the enemy's country, resulting in a complete victory and terms of peace being sued for by some of them. These were not accepted, and the whole country was scoured by the troops, who released and brought away with them over 15,000 Fingoes, the remnants of some early Kaffir tribes dispersed by the conquests of Charka and Moselekatze in the north and north-east, and held in subjection and a kind of absolute slavery by the Amascosa tribes. In five months things were settled, and Hintza, the last chief who held out, surrendered, and undertook to deliver 50,000 head of cattle and 1,000 horses, to give up for punishment the murderers of some traders, and to give two hostages (his own son and brother) for the due fulfilment of the treaty terms. Hintza himself accompanied Colonel Smith's party despatched to receive the cattle. But, having previously sent secret instructions to form an ambush and drive the cattle out of reach, he was shot, while endeavouring to escape, after a series of adventures well described by General Bissett in his book entitled "Sport and War; or, Fighting and Hunting in South Africa." His son Sarili was then raised to the chieftainship, and concluded a treaty of peace with the British. The country of the defeated tribes, up to the Kat River, was annexed to the Cape, and British residents were appointed over the various divisions and locations. The rescued Fingoes, to the number of nearly 17,000, were then located between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers; and they have remained there ever since, proving faithful subjects, orderly servants, and useful allies in the more recent wars. Colonel Smith was appointed the first British Chief Commissioner of the new province, and the seat of government was established at King Williams Town.

From this time the questions with regard to slavery, and the better treatment of the native tribes, became national ones, and were brought strongly before the Home Government; and after much inquiry they terminated in the total emancipation of slaves throughout the whole of the British dominions on

December 1st, 1834. This led to a consequent dissatisfaction and migration of the Dutch portion, and the trial of many new systems of native policy. From the year 1808, when the English Parliament had passed a law abolishing the foreign slave trade, it was seen that the total abolition of slavery was merely a question of time. The price of slaves—once the supply was stopped—rose very high, notwithstanding that the cargoes of the slavers captured by British men-of-war were brought to the Cape, and the rescued slaves were apprenticed for a term of fourteen years to those colonists who desired to avail themselves of the opportunity and applied for them; while the position of the Hottentots, under the oppressive laws then proclaimed for their government, was little better than that of the slaves themselves, until those laws were abrogated in 1828, whereby all persons of colour, not Kaffirs or slaves, were placed on the same footing as the white people. The policy of this was shown by the successful establishment of the Kat River Settlement before referred to. Hitherto there had been little, if any, race hatred or national jealousy exhibited by either the foreign or English colonists towards the others, except when the use of the English language was universally enforced, and the conduct and strictness of the new courts of law pressed, as they thought, hardly upon them. But at the first sign of the intention of the British Government to take steps, first to alleviate the condition of the slaves, and then for their emancipation, such a strenuous resistance was offered to the scheme that, in the then disturbed state of the country, it was thought unadvisable to enforce the law framed in 1830, appointing guardians to the slaves, and regulating the punishment which it would be lawful to inflict upon them; and intimation was sent to the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, to that effect. However, owing to the renewed exertions of philanthropists at home—prominent among whom were Lord Brougham, Rev. Dr. Philips, and Mr. Fowell Buxton—a law was passed in 1833, whereby all slaves should become free on the 1st of December, 1834, throughout the whole of the British dominions (thus anticipating by nearly thirty years the American Slave Abolition Law). But it was further provided, in the

interests of their masters, that they should be entitled to retain the slaves as apprentices for four years longer—upon proper application being made. In consideration for this deprivation of their vested rights, and the confiscation of money value, a sum of £20,000,000 was voted willingly by the Parliament of Great Britain by way of compensation. Valuers were appointed by the Government, and in the Cape Colony alone nearly 40,000 were released, and appraised at £3,000,000, or about £80 each. Of this, £1,200,000 was paid, the rest being unclaimed or in many cases refused.

This period may be regarded as the actual starting point from which begins the history proper of the Emigrant Boers. Their plea for being independent and free subjects, even at that time, is so ably and plausibly given from their own point of view by their admirer and champion, Mr. Aylward, in his "Transvaal of To-day," that it merits reproduction. He says :—"In 1833, a large number of farmers found themselves, without any desire on their parts to become British subjects, in the position of 'accidents of territory' ceded to the British by the Dutch. The sovereignty over the LAND on which they dwelt was undoubtedly vested in the European Government of Holland; but it is an important question whether the cession of territorial sovereignty can really be held to include the transfer of people as serfs from one Government to another. A serf is undoubtedly a person attached, and owing certain servitude to the soil on which he is born. I know of no law, human or Divine, by which the rights of the Dutch inhabitants to remove from the soil transferred to the sovereignty of England can be denied. Therefore, if any one of those 'subjects by cession' desired to remove himself, with his belongings, to the Dutch East Indies, there could be no objection to his doing so; nor, because he fell under British dominion by the cession of the Cape territory, could he have been prevented from returning to other Dutch territory and to his Dutch allegiance. I hold that he had only become a British subject in relation to his occupation of British territory, and that it was perfectly open to him to cease to be a subject by quitting that territory. It is certain that if the Emigrant

Boers had passed on, in their flight from British rule, to lands subject to the authority of other states they would have again become foreign subjects, and would no longer have been compelled to own an allegiance to England. But the land to which the Boers retired did not happen to belong to any recognized or constituted authority. They fled from what they rightly or wrongly considered to be misrule, into 'the desolate places of the earth,' where no man was master. . . . The Boers did not want to be British subjects. They found, what even Englishmen to-day are complaining of, as an inconvenience, if not an evil threatening their very existence. They said they were badly protected as against the aborigines of the country—a set of thieving savages, whose conduct on the frontier in 1878 seems to differ very little from what they were guilty of in 1834. The Boers knew that the territory then actually under British rule in South Africa was limited; and, gathering together their flocks and herds, they proceeded to march out of it to 'fresh fields and pastures new.' It must never be said that any hatred of civilized government, as such, led to this step. This would be a base calumny on the character of a body of men whose motives were as pure as those that actuated the 'Pilgrim Fathers'—Englishmen who left England for conscience sake."

The Cape Colony itself was again engaged in 1846–8 in another great Kaffir war, entitled the *War of the Axe*, from its arising through a native having stolen an axe, and being brought down as a prisoner manacled to a Hottentot. The guard was attacked by Kaffirs, who, not being able to undo the manacles, and being eager to release the Kaffir, cut off the Hottentot's arm, and left the poor wretch to bleed to death. This again was followed by a fifth war in 1850, which lasted until 1853—in which year a new Constitution was granted to the Cape—and by the more recent campaigns of 1876–7 against the Gaikas and Galekas. With the other events and rapid progress of the Cape Colony between 1835 and 1880 we have nothing further to do.

CHAPTER III.

NATAL FOUNDED.

Causes of the Great "Trek"—Over the Orange River—Contact with Natives—Government Steps to prevent the Exodus—Boers trek to Natal—Emigrants' Proclamation—Conflicts with Zulus—Hardships and Exploits of Boers—Their Proclamation of Independence—Death of Dingaan and Coronation of Umpanda—British Interference and Authority claimed—Arrival of Captain Jervis and Troops—Major Charteris on the Condition of the Boers—Troops Withdrawn—Captain Jervis's Farewell Address—Boer Independence Re-proclaimed—Republican Government Established—Towns Laid Out—Reassertion of British Sovereignty—Captain Smith's Arrival with more Troops—First Collision between Boers and British—The Military Besieged—Mr. King's Journey with Despatches—Relief sent from Cape under Colonel Cloete—Dispersal and Submission of Boers—Lenient Terms given—Acceptance of Conditions—Natal Proclaimed British Colony—Retirement of the Dissatisfied Boers over Berg.

The primary causes of the great Boer exodus from the Cape Colony can be briefly summarized, and arose principally from the manner in which the Home and Cape Governments treated the natives from time to time:—1st. In connection with the laws relating to Hottentots being allowed to leave their masters *en masse*, and settle down on locations, or under missionaries, and other laws interfering with or restraining the treatment of household servants; 2nd. In the liberation of all their slaves on the 1st of December, 1834, which deprived their masters of what they had always looked upon as valuable property; and, occurring as this did, in the middle of a harvest season—the slaves mostly leaving on the day of their liberation, and few of the farmers having applied to keep them for the further term of four years' apprenticeship, as allowed by the law—the masters were left in a helpless condition, and their agricultural and pastoral pursuits brought suddenly to a standstill; and, 3rd. Owing to the unsatisfactory manner in which the native question was settled after the war of 1834, during the Lieu-

tenant-Governorship of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who advocated the firm operation of the Glenelg treaties, in which more liberty was given to the Kaffirs, and less protection to the Colonists against the plundering propensities of their more savage neighbours. Even in 1825, many of the border farmers had penetrated the country beyond the Orange River, then thinly inhabited by a mixed race called the Griquas, descended from the aboriginal Cape Hottentots, and by the remnants of those native tribes who, flying from the persecution of the powerful northern nations, had settled down wherever they found water, pasture, and game, sufficient to keep themselves and their few cattle. The nomad Bushmen, the original inhabitants of the soil, were either obliged to leave it, being robbed of all they possessed by the stronger nations, sought the protection of the new-comers, or relapsed entirely into a wild life, being hunted and killed wherever and whenever found.

It was into this country that the farmers first began to drive their herds for better pasturage and water in the seasons of drought that frequently occurred in the northern Cape districts. They gradually began a trade with the natives, and in course of time acquired land by purchase, or leased it from the Griquas on easy terms. The Government at once tried to prevent this migration. Orders were given for all Colonials to return, and Stockenstrom went over the Orange River among them himself to see that the Government instructions were carried out. But everything that was done was unavailing to stop the spread of these hardy and determined pioneers, who, finding that there was no law to prevent them, still continued hiring land or sending their cattle to graze, and maintained their rights. Then came the rumours of discontent at the probable emancipation of the slaves, and other causes of dislike to the Government. Large parties, having heard of the Natal country to the east, started from Uitenhage and other parts on exploring tours. The Commandant of the Frontier, Colonel Somerset, then the Chief Commissioner, and the Governor, all tried to remove the discontent which existed, and allay the consequent excitement, but to no purpose. The

Attorney-General, Mr. Olophant, when appealed to for repressive and prohibitory legislation, simply referred the Government to the old Dutch proclamations. "But," he said, "the class of persons under consideration evidently mean to seek their fortunes in another land, and to consider themselves no longer British subjects, so far as the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is concerned. Would it, therefore, be prudent or just, even if it were possible, to prevent persons, discontented with their condition, trying to better themselves in whatever part of the world they please? The same sort of removal takes place every day from Great Britain to the United States. Is there any effectual means of arresting persons determined to run away short of shooting them as they pass the boundary line? I apprehend not; and if so, the remedy is worse than the disease. The Government, therefore, if I am correct in my conclusions, is, and must ever remain, without the power of effectually preventing the evil—if evil it be."

Mr. Noble says on the same subject:—"Wise measures on the part of the Government at that time might have directed and led the movement, and introduced among the tribes beyond the limits of the colony a more civilized colonization, the influence of which would soon have extended to the centre of Africa. But, unfortunately, nothing was done. The emigrants were laughed at for crossing the boundary 'for freedom and grass,' or spoken of as 'professional squatters,' who in the boundless interior saw scope for the indulgence of their natural propensities." "The Frontier Boer," wrote the ablest writer of that day, "looks with pity on the busy hives of humanity in cities, or even in villages; and, regarding with disdain the grand, but to him unintelligible, results of combined industry, the beauty and excellence of which he cannot know, because they are only intellectually discerned, he tosses up his head like the wild horse, utters a neigh of exultation, and plunges into the wilderness."

One party under the command of Piet Uys started with fourteen waggons from Uitenhage in 1834, and succeeded in finding a pass over the Drakensberg, by which they reached Durban, in Natal, where they found a small English trading

settlement. After remaining there a short time, shooting elephants and other large game, which then abounded, on hearing of the Kaffir war at the Cape they returned home. In 1835-36, the exodus increased, until large detachments, having sold their farms and dead stock for what they would fetch, and taking with them only their waggons, horses, oxen, and sheep, began their march from almost all the eastern districts into the interior and to the north-east. The earlier emigrants went away under the guidance of an old Albany farmer, Louis Trichard, and were quickly followed by another party under Gert Maritz from Graaf-Reinet, and by a number of families under the leadership of Uys, Landmann, and Rudolph. They met with kindness and sympathy from the English settlers all along their route, who expressed much regret at their departure.

A prominent—"Voortrekker"—figure is now introduced on the scene, in the person of Mr. Pieter Retief, descended from a good old Huguenot family, born and bred in the Paarl, whence he moved to the eastern frontier, and there dwelt for twenty years in high estimation. He held the official position of Field Commandant of his district, and was the mouthpiece of the discontented Boers, whose needs he represented constantly and straightforwardly to the authorities. No attempts being made to redress their grievances, he also joined the others, but, before crossing the boundary, he addressed a manifesto to the Government, declaring their motives in taking such a step, and the relations which they wished to take up with the Colony and any native tribes they might meet with. In this document, signed by him "by authority of the farmers," he stated:—"We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future. We propose, in the course of our journey, and on arriving in the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the first principles of liberty; but while we shall

take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime, and preserve proper relations between master and servant." This was followed by a declaration of the reasons which induced their course of action (which I have given at the beginning of this chapter); but there is little doubt that many were induced to join the exodus from false rumours, which were circulated by interested parties, and certainly influenced the more uneducated among them. Others looked forward to finding a better country to the north, from the descriptions given by those who had been there; while, lastly, there were many religious bigots of the advanced "Dopper" type, who likened their exodus to that of the Israelites, and who hoped in time to reach the "promised land" spoken about in the Bible. It will be best, at this portion of the history of the emigrant Boers, to follow the steps of those who penetrated into Natal; to show what difficulties they had to contend with, both from the nature of the country and from the Zulus; and to follow them throughout their short stay there, their quarrel with the English, and the subsequent settlement of some of them, and the return of the others to the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

The first small party which penetrated into Natal was followed in 1836 by a second and larger one, under the leadership of Gert Maritz and Pieter Retief, a combination of whose names was given to the present capital and seat of government in Natal, Pietermaritzburg. They soon came in contact with Dingaan, at that time King of the Zulus, a tribe who had depopulated Natal, and finding an English settlement on the coast and fearing disputes about land, they determined to proceed into Zululand for the purpose of obtaining a cession of land direct from the King himself. Upon their arrival, Dingaan promised them what is now Natal, upon condition of their making a neighbouring native chief, Sikonyella, restore a large number of cattle stolen from the Zulus. This they succeeded in doing, and they brought back, from beyond the Drakensberg, sixty horses and seven hundred oxen. A treaty was then prepared by Mr. Owen, an English missionary, who

had resided for some time near the King's royal kraal at Umgungunhlova, when Retief and his party were feasted for two days, and this treaty was formally proclaimed. The Dutchmen were then invited to make a farewell visit to the King within the enclosure occupied solely by his own huts, and to leave their arms outside, as was customary. To this Retief incautiously acceded, and after they had partaken of some native beer, and had a short "indaba," they were set upon by several thousands of Dingaan's armed soldiers, placed in ambush, and nearly all slain. Dingaan followed up this massacre by sending parties of his warriors over the Tugela into Natal, and they attacked, without warning, all the small parties of Dutchmen carelessly encamped in various directions. They completely surprised and slew to a man one large party on the Blaukranz river, and then spread southward. But the other Boers were warned in time, converted their waggons into strong laagers and beat the Zulus off, while the small English settlement in the Bay sent a small party of whites and native allies across the Tugela to cause a diversion: but they were repulsed with loss, and upon the Zulus advancing to the attack of Durban those left took refuge in a ship in the Bay.

Shortly afterwards 400 more Boers came over the Drakensberg, and another advance was made into Zululand, ending in defeat and the loss of their most gallant leader, P. Uys, and his no less gallant son. But in December following, having been further strongly reinforced, a party of 550 well-armed and mounted men, under Andries Pretorius and Carl Landmann, crossed the Tugela and gave battle to the Zulu forces of Dingaan, estimated at 12,000 men, near the Umslatoosi river, and after a severe fight defeated them entirely, killing over 2,000, and driving back with them into Natal over 5,000 head of cattle. They burned the King's kraal down to the ground, and established themselves in confidence in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and other places, feeling conscious that they had effectually broken, at any rate for many years, the fighting power and will of the Zulu nation. A brother of Dingaan, named Umpanda, living at that time as a refugee in Natal, then made advances of friendship towards

the Dutch; and at last an alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into between them. A combined force was sent against Dingaan, who was again defeated and had to fly for his life, being shortly afterwards killed by a tribe to the north with whom he had taken refuge. Umpanda was immediately proclaimed supreme chief of the Zulus in 1840, by Andries Pretorius, before a large assemblage of Boers and natives on the banks of the River Umvoloosi. The Boers then reserved to themselves the greater portion of the whole territory from the Black Umvoloosi to St. John's river, and assumed paramount authority even over Umpanda himself. As an indemnity for their previous losses they received from him 36,000 head of cattle, of which 14,000 were delivered to those of their friends who had come over the Drakensberg only to help them, while the remaining 22,000 were taken into Natal and divided between themselves and those who had claims for losses caused by the Zulu nation. The whole of the territory thus claimed they intended making into an independent Republic, under the name of the "Zuid Afrikansche Maatschappij," and arrangements to forward this object were quickly projected and carried out. This scheme did not, however, find favour with the Cape authorities, who still considered the Boers as emigrant British subjects, and who had already begun to attach some importance to the settlement at Durban established by Lieut. Farewell and Mr. H. Fynn in 1823. The Imperial Government also refused to permit the erection of any independent governments by its subjects in any part of South Africa; so that in 1838, when the news arrived at the Cape of the bloodshed and devastation, and the consequent reprisals which had followed on the "Retief Massacre," Sir George Napier despatched a military force to Natal to look after British interests. He also issued a rather hastily-worded proclamation as to the "unwarrantable acts" of the emigrant Boers, and directed all arms and ammunition to be seized, and all trade stopped, except such as had the Government license. This caused more angry feelings and discontent, both of which were fanned into flames by the sympathy shown by many of the Cape colonists for their unfortunate self-expatriated countrymen.

Only 100 men of the 72nd, under Captain Jervis, were sent round to Durban, with ten artillerymen and one officer, the civil and military power being deputed to Major Charteris, R.A., whose instructions were to use no force unless attacked. On his arrival most of the Boers were away fighting Dingaan, and the few English settlers had surrounded themselves by refugee Kaffirs, who worked for them, and gladly lived under their protection. Major Charteris quickly returned to the Colony overland, leaving Captain Jervis in command; and in his report to the Government he said:—"The Boers in these camps had built huts for themselves, a few of them were tolerably comfortable, but, generally speaking, there existed every indication of squalid poverty and wretchedness; and it was deplorable to see many families who, a short time previously, had been living in ease and comfort in the Colony, now reduced to poverty and misery. They bore up against these calamities with wonderful firmness, however, and, with very few exceptions, showed no inclination to return. They considered themselves as unjustly and harshly treated by the Colonial Government while under its jurisdiction, and all they now desired from it was to leave them to their own resources, and not molest them again. This spirit of dislike to the English sway was remarkably dominant amongst the women. Most of these, who formerly had lived in affluence, but were now in comparative want and subject to all the inconveniences accompanying the insecure state in which they were existing, having lost moreover their husbands and brothers by the savages, still rejected with scorn the idea of returning to the Colony. If any of the men began to droop, or lose courage, they urged them on to fresh exertions and kept alive the spirit of resistance within them."

Friendly feelings were, however, maintained, principally through the tact and moderation of Captain Jervis, until the close of 1839, when the Government withdrew the troops, being ordered to send the 72nd home. In a letter addressed to the Landdrost Roos of Durban, on his departure, *inter alia*, Captain Jervis concluded as follows:—"It now only remains for me to wish you, one and all, as a community every

happiness, sincerely hoping that, aware of your strength, peace may be the object of your councils; justice, prudence, and moderation be the law of your actions; that your proceedings may be actuated by motives worthy of you as men and Christians; that hereafter your arrival may be hailed as a benefit, having enlightened ignorance, dispelled superstition, and caused crime, bloodshed, and oppression to cease; and that you may cultivate those beautiful regions in quiet and prosperity, ever regardful of the rights of the inhabitants whose country you have adopted, and whose home you have made your own." The withdrawal of the troops and this valedictory address, combined with the knowledge that the Home Government did not wish to extend its South African colonies, made the Boers believe fully that the country was abandoned to their governance. They at once installed themselves in the deserted Government buildings at the Bay, fired a salute, hoisted their colours, and again proclaimed the "Republic of Natal," with great rejoicing—which was, alas! soon turned into sorrow at the action of the Cape Governor.

A form of government, after the example of Holland, was inaugurated, such as was then in force at the Cape, excepting in matters of a local nature, and a Council, or "Volksraad," was established. The members of the Council, being anxious to have their independence officially admitted and recognized, sent a memorial, praying for the same, to the Cape Governor, who answered it in the negative. The leaders of the people then reiterated their demands, stating that they were Dutch South Africans by birth; that at once, after leaving the Cape, they had proclaimed their independence, and, consequently, were no longer British subjects, and would remain in the country they had conquered, under their present system of government. The arrival at Natal about this time of a vessel from Holland with supplies, and the unauthorized statements of the captain and supercargo, that the King of Holland would protect and assist them in the formation of their Republic, led the Boers to consider the advisability of resisting any attempts at annexation. After some negotiation another military force, consisting of 250 men and two guns, was sent up from the

Cape overland to regain possession of Natal, and at the same time to awe some unruly Kaffir tribes *en route*. The command of this force was entrusted to Captain (afterwards General) Smith, of the 27th Regiment. On the arrival of the troops at Durban, in May 1842, Captain Smith received an order from the Boers to withdraw from their territory, "as they were no longer British subjects, but under the protection of Holland." The Boers, having been reinforced from the inland districts, formed an intrenched camp at the Congella, three miles from the British position, and showed signs of a vigorous resistance. Captain Smith then summoned them to disperse, and while he was arranging to attack their camp by night, eleven days after the arrival of the soldiers, the Boers commenced hostilities themselves by capturing sixty oxen belonging to the troops. This was immediately followed up, on Captain Smith's part, by the projected night attack, resulting in complete failure, owing to the Boers being previously informed of the plan—how is not known—and forming an ambuscade. After this, the British troops were completely hemmed in at the fort, the Boers capturing the guns and some prisoners in the town, who were sent up to Pietermaritzburg. A messenger was, however, found—Mr. Richard King—who swam his horse across the Bay at night, and, after unheard-of adventures, reached the frontiers of the Cape, a distance of 600 miles, in ten days, with despatches announcing the desperate position of Captain Smith's small but brave garrison.

Arrangements were immediately made to forward help. A small schooner, the *Conch*, then lying in Algoa Bay, was despatched to their relief, with all the available troops under Colonel Hare, and succeeded in reaching the beleaguered camp within a month from the departure of the messenger sent to request assistance. H.M.S. *Southampton* was also sent up with more troops under Colonel Cloete, and arrived only twenty-four hours after the *Conch*. About a fortnight after the beginning of the siege the *Mazeppa*, a local vessel, had managed to slip her cable and get away to sea—under fire from the Dutch fort at the point—and transferred the women and children from the British camp to Delagoa Bay, in reach

of any of H.M. ships of war. In the meantime the besieged were falling short of provisions, but gallantly made several sorties against the Boer camp, fighting with great pluck. By the 18th June the garrison—already diminished by deaths and sickness, though not desponding—were reduced to *biltong* (dried horse-flesh), rice, biscuit dust, and forage corn, with execrable water. Six days afterwards they were cheered at perceiving rockets from the sea, and again on the night following. The reinforcements, to the number of 700, were soon landed, and the Boers, although they fired on the open boats entering the narrow harbour-channel—a fire soon silenced by a few shells from the *Southampton*—made no other stand, but retired at once to Maritzburg, whence, upon Colonel Cloete's advance, they sent a deputation to meet him, and offered terms of submission. On the 5th of July Colonel (afterwards Sir Josias) Cloete, having offered a free pardon to all but their leaders, accepted their submission in Pietermaritzburg, and granted a general amnesty to all, with the exception of A. W. Pretorius, J. Prinsloo, J. J. Burgher, and M. N. S. Van Breda, only the former of whom was afterwards included in the amnesty. The principal portion of the troops was then re-embarked in the *Southampton*, and Captain Smith was again left in command.

By the terms of peace the Boers were allowed to return to their homes, with their horses and arms, and no confiscation of property should take place, while their existing civil government system was also left *pro tem.*; but the command over the port was kept in the hands of the military. Colonel Cloete's leniency was approved by the Home Government, who hoped thereby to turn the steadfast hatred, hitherto manifested against the British Government by the Boers, into a certain amount of gratitude and loyalty. At the end of 1842, the then Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, informed the Boers that Her Majesty could not be insensible to their good qualities, nor to the past hardships which they had undergone; and, in consideration thereof, had been pleased to bury in oblivion all past transactions, and invited an expression of their wishes for the future government of the country, subject only to the follow-

ing conditions:—1, That there should not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction of colour, or disqualification whatever, founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, should be extended impartially to all alike. 2, That no aggression should be made upon the natives. And, 3, That slavery, in any shape or under any modification, was absolutely unlawful. The Hon. Henry Cloete, brother of Colonel Cloete, was sent round as Commissioner, to consider and satisfy the claims of the Boers. He was supported by a small escort of the 45th Regiment, as there was still some irritation among the people, and much excitement consequent on the arrival of a deputation of armed Boers from beyond the Drakensberg, who were awaiting his arrival under the impression that the Government was going to claim all the territory up to the Orange River. However, upon his explaining that the Drakensberg range of mountains was to be the northern boundary, that was accepted as a basis of settlement, and they then withdrew, accompanied by many who still did not desire to live under British rule; while the rest, including Andries Pretorius, Stephanus Maritz, D. Poortman, P. M. Zeitsman, and J. N. Boshoff, acting on behalf of the Volksraad, accepted the terms offered, and on the 8th August, 1843, Natal became annexed to the British Crown.

Refugee natives from Zululand and elsewhere began to flock in from all parts under the protection of the whites. Their numbers increased yearly from 3,000, when the English first settled in the Bay, to 80,000 or 100,000 in a few years; and at present amount to nearly half-a-million. The natives have continued to live peacefully up to the present time—with a few minor exceptions—under a system of government organized and superintended by the Shepstones—a family which came out, with many others of colonial note, in 1820, and which has since given many useful members to the colonial service.

The history of Natal may thus fitly be summed up as having been for many years the home of a peaceful and primitive people, who were ruthlessly "eaten up" by the Zulu hordes under Charka. Then, early in the nineteenth

century, the Dutch established a small trading settlement, at what is now Durban, which was, however, soon abandoned. They were followed by an English band of traders, in 1823, who, with the scattered remnants of the surrounding native tribes and Zulu refugees, remained there quietly for nearly thirteen years, only to be succeeded by another seven years of varying fortune, attendant upon the immigration of the Boers and their numerous conflicts with the Zulu nation, and then with the more civilized power of Great Britain. Finally, the country became a British colony, by proclamation, "for the peace, protection, and salutary control of all classes of men settled in and surrounding this important portion of South Africa."

CHAPTER IV.

GREAT EXODUS NORTHWARDS.

The Migration Northwards—Conflict with Moselekatze—Potchefstrom Founded—Further "Trekking"—Boer Collision with Griquas—Swaart Koppie's Engagement—Peace Patched up—The Natal Exodus—Reasons therefor and Steps taken—Pretorius' Journey to the Cape—His Letter and Actions—Sir H. Smith's Arrival—Meeting with Boers—Conciliatory Promises—His Manifesto—Armed Opposition—Boers drive out British from Orange River Territory—The Battle of Boomplat—Subsequent Steps—Pacification of Country—Dutch Reformed Church Mission to Boers.

While the stream of emigration had been directed to the north-east, resulting in the settlement of Natal, as shown in the previous chapter, others and larger ones flowed straight northward, settling down as fancy dictated or the look of the country justified, in the enormous tracts of pasture lands between the Orange and Vaal Rivers; others even going beyond the Vaal, in the then unknown country to the north and north-east. These parties were composed principally of those Boers from the Cape who were determined not to remain any longer under the oppressive British rule; but partly also of others, who had been more or less concerned in previous antagonism to the Government, and included many whose positions as leaders had marked them out for special punishment by the authorities, and whose lives and properties were therefore considered as being unsafe while within the reach of the law. The total number of emigrants who thus voluntarily left the Cape Colony, during the years 1835–36, was variously estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000. But from what I have since learned from many of the men themselves or their descendants, I think the higher estimate is the more correct, if we include those who colonized Natal. If we consider the number of the white population of the Cape, in 1806,

which was about 21,000, and that ascertained by the census of 1865, viz., nearly 200,000, we may fairly estimate the number in 1835 to have been, at the outside, about 100,000. Of these a tenth part willingly expatriated themselves, giving up comparative riches and comfort for poverty and hardships of every description. The history—first attempted by Aylward—of these brave, hardy, and simple people, who have done everything for the opening up and colonization of South Africa, when more fully written and brought before the other nations of the world, will rank as equal, for perseverance, endurance, pluck, and adventures, with any other similar movement, either in America or elsewhere; and will gain the respect, if not the admiration, of all. While, with the exception of a few dark deeds,—nothing in comparison with what has occurred and still happens in America, Asia, and the Australasian groups—their simple method of life, religious character, primitive Government, and constant struggles against both white and black neighbours and the forces of nature, will compare favourably with the history of any other pioneering or colonizing attempts, either of ancient or modern days.

But to return to the exodus northwards:—The first parties had but little difficulty with the natives between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, consisting of only scattered remnants of various tribes, Bushmen, Griquas, Basutos, Baralongs, Bechuanas, Mantatus, and Korumas, who had been destroyed, scattered, or subjected by Moselekatze, the powerful Zulu chief who had seceded from Charka some ten years previously, and had established the Amatabele nation for himself. The sway of this chief then extended from the Vaal River to the Limpopo; but since the establishment of the Orange Free State and Transvaal, his son and successor, Lo Benjula, has only held command over the district between the Limpopo and the Zambesi. Moselekatze soon heard of the advance of the white men, and attacked them on several occasions with varied fortune. In 1838, a large force of Boers, collected together from all parts, crossed the Vaal and attacked one of Moselekatze's principal towns. Having beaten the natives and recaptured the cattle, &c., previously taken from them, they

retired to the Sand River. There, having seen the necessity of combined action and a settled form of government, Retief and other leaders established a state on the old Dutch system, concluded treaties with the surrounding tribes, and finally settled down in scattered communities all over the Modder, Vet, and Sand River districts, establishing the seat of government at Bloemfontein, where they were joined from time to time by others.

Another large party, which, under Potgieter and Uys, had gone into Natal to help the other Boers then fighting the Zulus, returned after the death of Uys, and crossed the Vaal River in 1838. Finding the country abandoned by Moselekatze, they settled themselves over the border, founding the town of Potchefstrom or Mooi River Darp. But when a proclamation reached them from Governor Napier, stating that they were not yet released from their allegiance to the Crown, and that all offences committed by British subjects, up to 25° of south latitude, were punishable in the Cape Colony Courts, they abandoned the Potchefstrom district, "trekked" further on again, and founded new settlements at Zoutpansberg and Leydenberg, whence they opened up communications with the Portuguese settlements on the east coast, and for a time were left in peace. The Boers who had settled down in the Orange River territory rented or bought lands from the Griqua and Basuto chiefs—who, being the strongest, claimed paramount authority over their respective districts—but they were soon brought face to face with numerous difficulties and troubles, caused by many disputes about land with the natives, and resulting in an actual collision between the Griqua chief, Adam Kok, and a few of the more headstrong and foolish Boers under men named Mocke and Diederickse. They were advised and encouraged in this resistance to the native pretensions by many of those who had returned from Natal to the north, after breaking the power of two such powerful chiefs as Dingaan and Moselekatze.

The Boers expressed their determination to drive out the natives, and one thing led to another until Adam Kok at last applied to the British authorities for help and protection. Mr.

Menzies, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, then sitting at Colesberg, accompanied the magistrate to remonstrate with the Boers, and a little way over the boundary they were met by the party under Mocke. After a stormy interview, Judge Menzies declared that, in Her Majesty's name, he took possession of all the country lying south of 25° south latitude and east of 22° east longitude. This act served temporarily as a check to the Boers, but it was disallowed by the Government, and no further steps were taken, except that some troops were moved up and stationed at Colesberg to watch the course of events. Later on, Colonel Hare, then in command of the troops and also Lieutenant-Governor, issued a proclamation, stating his intention of enforcing the submission of every British subject beyond the boundary, and offering a free pardon to all who at once submitted, except the actual leaders. A conference being held, many submitted, and others stated the reasons of their discontent, complaining that the Griquas and other natives were allowed greater liberty of self-government than was granted to themselves. No more active steps were taken by the Boers till 1843, after treaties of peace were entered into by the British authorities with Adam Kok, chief of the Griquas, and Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, similar to the treaty concluded in 1834 with another Griqua chief, Waterboer. Subsequently, war broke out between the Boers and Griquas about the rights of the former to punish their Griqua servants—a right denied by Adam Kok—the Griqua town of Philipolis was attacked by a Boer commando, and several men shot and cattle captured. The Government of Cape Colony then again interfered, and sent up a force of cavalry to co-operate with the infantry at Colesberg. Colonel Richardson, who was in command—finding that the negotiations between the Boers and the magistrate at Colesberg, both for the delivering up of the men who had shot the natives and for the return of the captured cattle, were unsuccessful—marched up his troop of the 7th Dragoon Guards, with Cape Mounted Rifles, and some of the 91st Foot, attacked the Boer camp suddenly at Zwart Koppies, thirty miles to the north of Philipolis, and completely dislodged them from their rocky

position, pursuing them across a plain, where, but for the unusual mercy shown them, they would have been all cut down. That night most of the fugitives sent in their submission, stating that they had no intention of taking up arms against the British, and that their quarrel was entirely with the Griquas, who had recently assumed an insolent attitude towards them, after their treaty of peace had been made with the Colonial Government. There was doubtless a great deal of truth in this, as after events have proved, and as our recent more intimate knowledge of the natives has shown. Every allowance ought therefore to be made for the action taken by the Boers. The leaders, however, declined to submit, and retired still further to the northward, with a stronger determination than ever not to come again under British rule. The principal of these were Mocke, Steyn, Du Plooy, and Kok.

The Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir P. Maitland, set out at once for the border, accompanied by Mr. Porter, the Attorney-General. Having held several conferences with Boers, Griquas, and Basutos, he finally arranged to divide the lands to be held by the natives—entitled Inalienable, from those of the Boers, called Alienable—giving the latter leases for payment of a quit rent, out of the proceeds of which the expenses of a British Resident were to be defrayed, the balance going to the chiefs of the tribes in whose districts the lands lay. This worked well enough as a general rule; but there were many Boers settled on lands which were declared to be part of the "Inalienable" districts; and as it would not have been just to order their immediate removal, a forty years' lease was granted them. But they were bound to leave their farms entirely, without compensation of any kind, at the expiration of their leases. As, however, the Boers had built on, improved, ploughed, enclosed, and irrigated their property, this settlement was unjust to them, and was the cause of much future trouble. An important event now occurred which led to the second collision between the Boers and the British, and finally to the freedom of the Orange Free State.

In Natal, previous to its being constituted a separate Govern-

ment in 1845, those Boers that remained became very unsettled in consequence of the large influx of Zulu refugees, and the uncertainty then existing as to the future intentions of the British Government. Their Volksraad passed a resolution requiring the Zulus to move out of the Colony within fourteen days, and applied to the military commandant, Major Smith, for assistance in carrying out this difficult and certainly hasty measure. In answer to their request, the British commandant stated his inability to comply with their demands, and advised them to wait until the new Government was established. This they were disinclined to do; and by the time a Constitution was granted to Natal, the farmers had again begun to "trek." Many steps were taken to prevent further discontent and the continuance of the exodus. Land grants were made easy and of enlarged proportions, and other laws were relaxed; but to little permanent good, as the effect thus produced was more than counterbalanced by the report of a Commission appointed to regulate the control of the large number of natives then settled in Natal.

Sir T. Shepstone, the chief Political Resident at Fort Peddie, among the Fingoes, Dr. Stanger, the Surgeon-General, Lieut. Gibb, R.E., and two American missionaries, Lindley and Adams, formed the Commission; and they drew up a plan, based on the scheme proposed by Mr. Cloete, whereby the natives should be placed on and confined exclusively to reserves of locations in different districts, and be solely under the control of responsible European magistrates. This scheme required money; but none was forthcoming from England, where Earl Grey's policy was the reduction of Colonial expenditure. This left matters in the same unsatisfactory state, and effectually crippled the hands of Mr. T. Shepstone, the Secretary of Native Affairs, who, in one of his reports after a slight outbreak, very candidly and justly wrote:—"By neglecting to invest money in the profitable occupation of improving"—the natives—"we have been forced to lavish it in the unproductive, miserable, melancholy work of repression; and the necessity for this last kind of expenditure will increase in the exact proportion in which we continue to neglect the first."

Finally, the Dutch farmers determined to "trek," as they considered the native element too treacherous and powerful to be relied upon for the future peace and safety of the Colony in the hands of the Government, unless backed up with a large military force. But before leaving to join their relatives in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, they deputed Mr. Andries Pretorius, their former head and representative in the Natal Volksraad, personally to see the new Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape, to explain these grievances and appeal for their redress. Pretorius accordingly proceeded overland through the Orange Free State; and, on his way, he met a body of emigrants at Winburg, under Commandant Kok, who decided also to send a deputy, Mr. C. Du Plooy, to the Governor with him. Upon their arrival at Grahamstown, Sir Henry Pottinger, the new Governor, absolutely refused to see them, even after their long tedious journey, and in spite of the critical state of affairs throughout South Africa, asserting that what the Deputies had to state should be submitted in writing. This was done in a memorial recapitulating all their previous grievances, to which was added a more recent one, which occurred at Bloemfontein, where the British Resident had disarmed many of the emigrants, and thus deprived them of their chief means of support and defence. Finding that even then no redress could be obtained from the Governor, Mr. Pretorius issued a series of letters to the public through the medium of the press, written most ably, eloquently, and moderately. He said, in conclusion:—"I resume my journey to Natal to-morrow with a heavy heart. The object for which I braved every difficulty, and left my wife and family almost unprotected for a considerable period, I have not obtained, and have thus performed a long journey to no purpose; and I go back to my constituents to inform them that I have neither seen nor spoken to the Lion of the Colony, Sir Henry Pottinger; that I have not received a proper answer to my written representations—the document purporting to be such appearing to me unsuitable, and the remarks contained in it so irrelevant, that it is impossible for me to conjecture what bad results may be the consequence when it becomes known amongst us. I return, I

say, to abide the time when I shall surely see realized all I have said about murder, robbery, and the firebrand; perhaps to sacrifice my life. But I have the satisfaction of knowing that I raised my voice against misrule, the fruits whereof will be clearly seen when it shall be too late to go back."

How moderate and true these utterances were, recent events and the course of the last twenty years have shown. On the return of Pretorius to Natal desperate proceedings were proposed by some; but all determined to "trek." Another new Governor then turned up, Sir Harry Smith, well known and previously liked by many colonists. He soon put things a little straight in the Colony, and came up quietly to the Border, where he had a series of interviews with the native chiefs and the Boers, arranging affairs satisfactorily for all parties, at any rate *pro tem.* He then travelled over the Berg to Natal, and at the Tugela he met Pretorius and his fellow-countrymen, who had already started for the Vaal River. The miserable condition in which he found them—it being the height of the wet season—their friendly feelings towards himself, and calm statement of their various complaints, aroused in him a strong feeling of admiration and pity; and he determined to do what he could to alleviate their condition and induce them to return to the homes they had founded with many vicissitudes in Natal. He promised them legal titles to their lands, appointing a Commission, on which was their own leader, Pretorius, to carry this out and receive applications; granted an amnesty for all political offences; ordered the removal of the natives beyond certain boundaries; organized a police force; legalized marriages duly contracted between them, though without the presence of any authorized minister, and not in conformity with the Cape laws (which are very strict on the subject of inheritance), and promised to promote education and the erection of schools and churches. These measures, thankfully accepted at the time, were not however sufficient to restrain many of the more embittered among them. Within a month of Sir H. Smith's return to Cape Town, he learnt, much to his regret, that Pretorius had left Natal, thrown in his lot with the more discontented of the Boers in the Orange Free State and Trans-

vaal, and determined to oppose by force the further encroachments of the British. This step received such an amount of support, that the news thereof produced regret for the present and fear for the future in the minds of the more sensible among the Cape Colonists. A Commission of the Dutch Church Synod was sent up to visit and advise the Boers; and Sir H. Smith published a manifesto which attracted much attention at the time, being of a semi-pathetic and religious nature, ending with threats of the utmost severity. Its circulation, however, combined with the appointment of magistrates to the new districts of Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Caledon, smoothed matters over in that part of the Orange Free State. It was different, however, further north, where the most dissatisfied of the Boers dwelt. They held meetings, claimed the country between the Vet and Vaal Rivers as having been purchased by Potgieter in 1838 from the chief Makwana for some cows; and finally, at a large meeting held at Potchefstrom, adopted certain resolutions which were sent to the High Commissioner.

The leaders at that time were Pretorius, Kruger, Potgieter, Bothes, Prinsloo, Kok, and Steyn. They also issued a counter manifesto, and tried to unite some native allies against the probable military operations then threatened. In this document they stated that no faith could be placed in Sir H. Smith's promises; that the Government was only extending its rule to make soldiers of them; that it was useless to fly further north, where fevers had killed so many of them, and sickness thinned their cattle; and they appealed to the women to send their husbands and sons to fight for their country and faith; and concluded with a threat of forfeiture of lands to those who did not join them. For some time Sir H. Smith would not credit the importance of the reports of Major Warden, the British Resident at Bloemfontein; nor yet of a communication made by Sir A. Stockenstrom of the warlike plans of Pretorius and others. But in the meantime, Pretorius had commenced the contest, making his head-quarters at Winburg, and began to expel all the British officers and inhabitants from the territory north of the Orange River. Two

hundred men joined him from beyond the Vaal, but Potgieter himself did not accompany them. On the 17th July they appeared before Bloemfontein, their numbers having been increased on the road to nearly 500. They encamped about two miles off, and sent a letter to the Resident demanding his retirement from the country with the British forces, which only amounted to less than 100 men, including civilians and deserters from the Boers. The Magistrate, being also encumbered with over 200 women and children, badly provisioned, and with a number of refugee natives, accepted the terms offered—to evacuate with all their property—and proceeded to Colesberg. Similar terms were accepted by the Magistrates at Winburg and Caledon.

When this news reached Sir H. Smith, at Cape Town, he sent up troops to the Orange River, and issued a proclamation offering £2,000 reward for the apprehension of A. W. Pretorius, who was declared a rebel; and he himself quickly reached Colesberg, where he awaited the concentration of troops. Here he received a message from Pretorius, as "Chief of the whole United Emigrant Force," desiring to speak with him; but the Governor declined to see or treat with "rebels in arms." The river was crossed and an advance made at once by the troops, consisting of two companies each of the 45th, 91st, and Rifle Brigade; two troops of Cape Mounted Rifles, and two field guns, or altogether about 700 men. A number of Griquas, under Waterboer and Adam Kok, and some loyal Boers joined them on the march. No opposition was encountered until the 28th August, 1848. The Boers were then found strongly posted at Boomplaats. They were under the command of Pretorius, Gut Kruger, Andries Stander, and engaged the British force in a severe conflict, lasting nearly three hours, and resulting in their ultimate defeat and flight, but only after having inflicted severe losses on the military; who lost one officer and eight men killed, and six officers and thirty-nine men wounded. The Boers left forty-nine dead on the field, the number of wounded not being known. Pretorius, with a few relatives, fled out of the Orange Free State and across the Vaal River. Two only of the Boer force were taken prisoners, a Cape farmer, Dreyer,

and Quigley, a deserter from the 45th Regiment. They were tried, convicted, and shot, at Bloemfontein, and were buried in the exact spot where Major Warden signed the capitulation of the town to Pretorius. Sir H. Smith rode on to Winburg, all opposition having ceased, and the people coming forward readily to take the oath of allegiance. Two of the Boer commanders, Paul Bester and Gut Kruger, were pardoned, and heavy fines were inflicted on all those who were known to have taken a part in the rebellion, the money, which amounted to over £10,000, being applied to defray the expenses of the troops through having had to cross the Orange River. Subsequently, on the 8th September, Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the Orange Free State as a British Sovereignty, with a salute of twenty-one guns, and reinstated Major Warden and the other British officials. He granted the inhabitants a liberal government; and, knowing their peculiar character and religious ideas, he gave them the fullest possible liberty, and encouraged and assisted a mission to them from the Dutch Reformed Church at Cape Town. This mission was undertaken by the Reverends Dr. Robertson and Fame, who even penetrated as far as the Magaliesberg, to the north of the Vaal, where Pretorius and others had founded the beginning of the Transvaal Republic. The effect of this mission has thus been stated by Noble:—"Their communication with the exiles in the Transvaal had a most beneficial influence: they held religious services with them, baptized and married many, both young and old, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the celebration of which had never been witnessed by the emigrants since they had commenced their wild and wandering life. Some of the people showed a keen jealousy of any interference with them in political matters, and even formed a very strong prejudice with respect to the signatures required from such as desired to have their marriages registered, imagining that they were thereby, in some degree, made British subjects. But, generally, they gave a hearty reception to the mission, and expressed their appreciation of the friendship and interest manifested in their condition and prospects by their colonial fellow-countrymen."

CHAPTER V.

ORANGE FREE STATE SETTLEMENT.

The Events in 1850—The Basutos—Embroilment of the British Residents—Earl Grey's Policy—Removal of Sir H. Smith—Arrival of Commissioners Hogge and Owen—Meeting with Transvaal Boers—Sand River Convention—Row with Basutos—Sir George Cathcart and his Policy—The Berea Fight—Moshesh and Sir George—Abandonment of Territory—Sir George Clerk's Work—Free State Convention—Removal of Griquas—Basuto and Free State Wars—Annexation of Basutoland—Boundary Disputes—Waterboer's Griqua Territory—Diamonds Found—Griqualand was annexed—Boshoff, first President, succeeded by Brand.

Of the progress of the Orange Free State, during six years, while it remained under British rule, until the final relinquishment of the territory to the Boer inhabitants, in 1854, I can only give a short *résumé* in this chapter; but in a later one I shall have more to say of its rapid advance under President Brand's term of office, its present position and prospects, and its inhabitants, as I found them in 1881. While the white population in the Orange River Sovereignty, after the events just recorded, had settled down into a peaceful life, hostilities unfortunately broke out in 1850 between the native tribes, which led to important results, and indirectly to the abandonment of the territory. Moshesh, the consolidator of the Basuto nation, and its most powerful and able chief—the only chief who ever made a successful stand against the all-powerful Charka and his Zulus—claimed authority over the lands occupied by the Manlatees, Korannas, Baralongs, and Bastards, small tribes living in his vicinity. He welcomed the advent of missionaries and traders among his people, and through his just and careful government gained a large following, increased by refugees from other tribes, and the respect of all. The President, unfortunately, became mixed up in these matters, and assisted

the smaller tribes in their attempts at independence, calling out the Boers and Griquas to his aid against Moshesh, who, of course, retaliated on the surrounding natives. The Basutos, being victorious in most of their forays, at last became involved in war with the British; but the Burghers, called upon by the President, refused to muster and arm against Moshesh or interfere at all in the native quarrels. They could not understand why, if it were necessary to interfere at all, the military could not do it without their help. During this period of disturbance, Sir H. Smith had the Kaffir war of 1850–1 on his hands and could do little to help. The Governor of Natal, however, Sir B. Pine, sent up two companies of the 45th Regiment and 700 Zulus across the Drakensberg, which gave a little increased confidence. But that did not last long, as Major Warden found himself in no position to attack Moshesh, who had 10,000 good men to back him, in a difficult country; and, combined with this, the Zulus became impatient and returned to their homes; while, out of 1,000 Burghers called out, only seventy-five answered to the call.

Earl Grey, after hearing of these things, sent a despatch to Sir H. Smith, saying, that as the consent of the British Government had only with reluctance been given to the annexation of the Orange Free State, and the inhabitants did not seem to wish for, or continue to support, the British authority, he recommended that, at the close of 1851, the Sovereignty should ultimately be abandoned; and then continued:—"If you are enabled to effect this object, you will distinctly understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterwards occur between the different tribes and communities, which will be left in a state of independence beyond the colonial boundary, are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference. Any inroads upon the colony must be promptly and severely punished, but, after the experience which has been gained as to the effect of British interference in the vain hope of preserving peace among the barbarous or semi-civilized inhabitants of these distant regions, I cannot sanction a renewal of similar measures." "Therefore," says Noble, "the old and warmly-cherished policy of England, based on the great and noble

principle that she was responsible for the conduct of her subjects towards the aboriginal races among whom they settled—'the protector of the weak, the civilizer of the barbarian, and the preacher of righteousness to the heathen'—was thus suddenly reversed. It had been maintained for years, at no small cost of blood and treasure; but it threatened, if pursued further, to indefinitely enlarge the demands on the revenue and military force of the Kingdom. To prevent any future complications, the officers representing the Crown were interdicted, in terms as explicit as could be employed, from making or sanctioning any extension, however small, of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa." If such views had only prevailed at the time of the annexation of the Transvaal, and even upon other occasions, both previously and subsequently, much British blood, treasure, and reputation would, I venture to think, have been saved. This first act of abandonment was considered by every one in South Africa, both white and black, to have been, not only a mistake injurious to the colonial interests of the Empire, but certainly a confession of great weakness, unworthy of Great Britain. What she then shrank from undertaking has since been successfully accomplished by the Burghers of the Free State alone, without an organized military force: so that Moshesh was forced to sue for peace, and claim for his tribe of Basutos British protection, from utter extermination at the hands of these few thousand Boers. *Tempora mutantur!*

In fulfilment of this new policy, Sir Harry Smith was recalled, Major Warden was dismissed from the post of Administrator of the Orange River Territory, and two Commissioners, Major Hogge and Mr. C. M. Owen, were instructed to proceed to the District to inquire into matters, with full authority to act as they thought best. In the course of the inquiry they found that Moroko, chief of the Baralongs, by the agreement made by the former British Resident, had clearly been entitled to protection, as well as the Boers, who had been plundered promiscuously by all. The difficulty was, how to get compensation out of Moshesh, who had retired to his mountain fastnesses, and sent messages that he did not want to fight the British, but only desired his rights from the natives, and to

be protected from encroachments. The Commissioners, after much deliberation, considered that it would be necessary to vindicate the authority of the British; and the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir George Catheart, agreed to march up a large force against Moshesh, so soon as he had brought to a satisfactory conclusion the Kaffir war then progressing. In the meantime, while the Commissioners remained in Bloemfontein striving to settle matters there satisfactorily, messengers came to them from Pretorius and the Boers over the Vaal, to negotiate for peace and the friendship of the British, as against the natives and the rebellious efforts of those in the Sovereignty who were trying to excite others to rise again. This was thought to be a favourable opportunity to re-establish good feeling between the Boers and the British—in which case they could despise the Blacks; wherefore the sentences of outlawry were cancelled, and a meeting was arranged; which took place near the Sand River, and resulted in a Convention being entered into on behalf of Her Majesty, allowing the Boers to the north of the Vaal to establish an independent government of their own, upon certain conditions. The Convention was approved of by the Governor and the Home Authorities, who hoped that the freedom at last granted the emigrant Boers would conduce to peace and good order among themselves, and friendship with the Imperial Government. The following is the record of the proceedings:—

"Minute of a meeting held on the farm of Mr. P. A. Venter, Sand River, on Friday, the 16th day of January, 1852, between Her Majesty's Commissioners, Major W. S. Hogge and C. M. Owen, appointed to settle the affairs of the East and North-East boundaries of the Cape Colony, on the one part; and the following deputies of the emigrant Boers, living north of Vaal River, on the other hand—A. W. J. Pretorius, Comdt.-General; H. S. Lombard, Landdrost; H. F. Joubert, Comdt.-General; G. F. Krieger, Commandant, and twelve others.

"1. The Assistant Commissioner sguarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their

own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government; and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond, to the north of the Vaal River, with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting, or who may inhabit, that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.

"2. Should any misunderstanding hereafter arise as to the true meaning of the words, 'The Vaal River,' this question, in so far as it regards the line from the source of that river, over the Drakensberg, shall be settled and adjusted by Commissioners chosen by both parties.

"3. Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River.

"4. It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers.

"5. Mutual facilities and liberty shall be afforded to traders and travellers on both sides of the Vaal River: it being understood that every waggon containing firearms, coming from the south side of the Vaal River, shall produce a certificate signed by a British magistrate, or other functionary, duly authorized to grant such, and which shall state the quantities of such articles contained in said waggon to the nearest magistrate north of the Vaal River, who shall act in the case as the regulations of the emigrant farmers direct. It is agreed that no objections shall be made by any British authority against the emigrant Boers purchasing their supplies of ammunition in any of the British colonies and possessions of South Africa; it being mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with the native tribes is prohibited, both by the British Government and the emigrant farmers on both sides of the Vaal River.

"6. It is agreed that, so far as possible, all criminals and other guilty parties who may fly from justice either way across the Vaal River shall be mutually delivered up, if such should

be required; and that the British courts, as well as those of the emigrant farmers, shall be mutually open to each other for all legitimate processes, and that summonses for witnesses sent either way across the Vaal River shall be backed by the magistrates on each side of the same respectively, to compel the attendance of such witnesses when required.

"7. It is agreed that certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities of the emigrant farmers shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle children of such marriages to receive portions accruing to them in any British colony or possession in South Africa.

"8. It is agreed that any and every person now in possession of land, and residing in British territory, shall have free right and power to sell his said property, and remove unmolested across the Vaal River and *vice versâ;* it being distinctly understood that this arrangement does not comprehend criminals or debtors without providing for the payment of their just and lawful debts."

At the end of that year, 1852, the Governor found himself in a position to move towards the Orange River Territory, in which a new Resident, Mr. Green, had been managing matters fairly well; but he had never been able to check the constant warfare going on between the Basutos on the one hand, and the Baralongs and the Burghers on the other. Moshesh had repeatedly promised amends and restitution of cattle, but never fulfilled any of his promises. The arrival of 2,000 troops (450 cavalry, a battery of artillery, and the rest infantry) at Plaatberg, with the General, brought matters to a crisis. An immediate demand for 10,000 head of cattle and 1,000 horses, to be delivered to the British Resident in three days, met with no response, although Moshesh had come in on the day after the demand was made, and promised compliance. As only 3,500 were sent in on the day appointed, an advance was made in three columns on Thaba Bossigo. They found the Basutos prepared for war, and, after several blunders made by the commanders of two of the columns, they were suddenly assailed by a large force of the enemy in a difficult place, and at a critical time, and were compelled

to retire with heavy loss. The other column did little better; but they at length repulsed the enemy and bivouacked on the field, marching back next day with some captured guns and cattle to the camp at Caledon River, with the intention of resuming the war next day. That morning, however, Moshesh sent a letter under a flag of truce, asking for peace, and saying that as they had captured some cattle, he hoped they would be satisfied and give them as compensation to the Boers. The letter was written in English by a son, Nehemiah Moshesh, who had been educated at the Cape, and spoke and wrote English well. Under the then circumstances, and knowing the critical state of the whole of the country, Governor Catheart decided to grant the terms, and make the best of a bad bargain. A proclamation was therefore issued, declaring peace with the Basutos, declining any interference in the future on the part of the Government with native affairs, and giving the Burghers full power to protect, secure and recover their property after the fashion of the colonial "commando" system. The Governor had seen enough to convince him that the Government must either abandon the Orange River Territory at once, or keep a force of 2,000 men there permanently, and organize a proper system of government. In consequence of his reports, the Home Government decided to relinquish the sovereignty at once, and sent out Sir G. R. Clerk, an eminent Indian statesman, for that purpose. On his arrival at Bloemfontein, in August 1853, he invited the inhabitants to elect delegates to meet together and arrange the basis of a Convention for their separation. This was bitterly opposed by all the English residents and a number of farmers, as well as by the Cape Colony people. Two delegates were even sent home to appeal against this decision of abandonment. This was of no avail, as even Sir G. R. Clerk's opinion was in favour of it; and at last several of the leading Burghers came forward to assist the Special Commissioner—"Not," they said, "because they regarded the British Crown with any antipathy; their discontent arose solely with the mismanagement of Her Majesty's servants." And at an assembly of the delegates at Bloemfontein on the 23rd of Feb-

ruary, 1854, Sir George Clerk made over to them the Government of the country, in a Convention which was legally carried out by a Royal Order in Council on the 8th of April, 1854. The terms of the Convention were as follows :—

"1. Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, in entering into a Convention for finally transferring the government of the Orange River Territory to the representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it, guarantees, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the future independence of that country and its government; and that after the necessary preliminary arrangements for making over the same between Her Majesty's Special Commissioner and the said representatives shall have been completed, the inhabitants of the country shall then be free; and that this independence shall, without unnecessary delay, be confirmed and ratified by an instrument, promulgated in such form and substance as Her Majesty may approve, finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them, to all intents and purposes, a free and independent people, and their Government to be treated and considered thenceforth as a free and independent Government.

"2. The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok; and Her Majesty's Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government.

"3. With regard to the treaty existing between the British Government and the chief, Captain Adam Kok, some modification of it is indispensable. Contrary to the provisions of that treaty, the sale of lands in the inalienable territory has been of frequent occurrence, and the principal object of the treaty thus disregarded. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, intends to remove all restrictions preventing Griquas from selling their lands; and measures are in progress for the purpose of affording every facility for such transactions—the chief, Adam Kok, having, for himself, concurred in and sanctioned the same. And with regard to those further alterations arising out of the proposed revision of relations with Captain Adam Kok, in con-

sequence of the aforesaid sales of land having from time to time been effected in the inalienable territory, contrary to the stipulations of the Maitland Treaty, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, personally, without any unnecessary loss of time, to establish the affairs in Griqualand on a footing suitable to the just expectations of all parties.

"4. After the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Government from the Orange River Territory, the new Orange River Government shall not permit any vexatious proceedings towards those of Her Majesty's present subjects remaining within the Orange River Territory who may heretofore have been acting under the authority of Her Majesty's Government, for or on account of any acts lawfully done by them—that is, under the law as it existed during the occupation of the Orange River Territory by the British Government. Such persons shall be considered to be guaranteed in the possession of their estates by the new Orange River Government.

"Also, with regard to those of Her Majesty's present subjects who may prefer to return under the dominion and authority of Her Majesty to remaining where they now are, as subjects of the Orange River Government, such persons shall enjoy full right and facility for the transfer of their properties, should they desire to leave the country under the Orange River Government, at any subsequent period within three years from the date of this Convention.

"5. Her Majesty's Government and the Orange River Government shall, within their respective territories, mutually use every exertion for the suppression of crime, and keeping the peace, by apprehending and delivering up all criminals who may have escaped or fled from justice either way across the Orange River; and the courts, as well the British as those of the Orange River Government, shall be mutually open and available to the inhabitants of both territories for all lawful processes. And all summonses for witnesses, directed either way across the Orange River, shall be countersigned by the magistrates of both Governments respectively, to compel the attendance of such witnesses when and where they may be required, thus affording to the community north of the Orange

River every assistance from the British courts, and giving, on the other hand, assurance to such colonial merchants and traders as have naturally entered into credit transactions in the Orange River Territory during its occupation by the British Government, and to whom, in many cases, debts may be owing, every facility for the recovery of just claims in the courts of the Orange River Government. And Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend the adoption of the like reciprocal privileges by the Government of Natal in its relations with the Orange River Government.

"6. Certificates issued by the proper authorities, as well in the Colonies and Possessions of Her Majesty as in the Orange River Territory, shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle heirs of lawful marriages, and legatees, to receive portions and legacies accruing to them respectively, either within the jurisdiction of the British or Orange River Government.

"7. The Orange River Government shall, as hitherto, permit no slavery, or trade in slaves, in their territory north of the Orange River.

"8. The Orange River Government shall have freedom to purchase their supplies of ammunition in any British colony or possession in South Africa, subject to the laws provided for the regulation of the sale and transit of ammunition in such colonies and possessions; and Her Majesty's Special Commissioner will recommend to the Colonial Government that privileges of a liberal character, in connection with import duties generally, be granted to the Orange River Government, as measures in regard to which it is entitled to be treated with every indulgence, in consideration of its peculiar position and distance from the seaports.

"9. In order to promote mutual facilities and liberty to traders and travellers, as well in the British possessions as in those of the Orange River Government, and it being the earnest wish of Her Majesty's Government that a friendly intercourse between these territories should at all times subsist, and be promoted by every possible arrangement, a consul or agent of the British Government, whose especial attention shall be directed to the promotion of these desirable objects, will be

stationed within the colony, near to the frontier, to whom access at all times may readily be had by the inhabitants on both sides of the Orange River, for advice and information, as circumstances may require."

Immediately after the promulgation of this Convention, a provisional Government was organized, consisting of the following Boers:—J. P. Hofman, President; A. Standers, Groenendal, Du Plooy, Sinde, J. Ventey, and Du Fort, members; who issued a circular announcing the good news to their fellow Burghers, and then drew up a Republican constitution, vesting the power in a Volksraad and State President. The first troubles of the new Government were in connection with the Griquas and Basutos. The former denied the right of the Orange Free State to their District; but it was found, on inquiry, that all lands sold by Griquas to white people would, in virtue of an arrangement made with the Special Commissioner, come under the Free State Government. Thus, as most of the Griquas continued to sell their lands unknown to the chiefs, at last they were completely supplanted, and their country was divided into Districts and governed and taxed by Free State officials. Against these proceedings, the Griquas appealed to the Governor, who, on referring the question home, was instructed to find some other suitable place for their location, and move those who desired it. This was done by obtaining a suitable tract of country between the Umzunkulu and Umzimvubu Rivers, between Natal and the Cape Colony, into which they afterwards moved in 1860; and their settlement, "Nomansland," now Griqualand East, was subsequently annexed to the Cape in 1875.

The difficulty with Moshesh was much greater, and arose about the boundary line, which had previously been arranged by Major Warden, so as to leave the white men where they were, and the natives where they were. This agreement was declared by Moshesh to be no longer binding when the English left the country; and he therefore claimed paramount rights over all the neighbouring Districts. Sir G. Grey succeeded in averting war until 1858, when hostilities broke out. Peace, however, was quickly made up again by Sir George's arbitration.

But the aggressions of the Basuto State increased and led to another war in 1864; and to yet another in 1866, when, after eleven months' severe fighting, Moshesh was beaten, sued for peace, and ceded a large portion of the disputed country to the Burghers. The murder of a trader by the Basutos in 1867 again led to renewed hostilities, which lasted until the 12th of March, 1868. Sir P. Wodehouse had tendered his services to arrange a peace; a proposal which the Burghers were not at all anxious to accept, as they then had Moshesh at their feet, and resolved entirely to crush him and his people, so as to prevent their arising again in the future. Sir P. Wodehouse then acceded to Moshesh's repeated requests for the Basutos to be allowed to come under the British flag; and he proclaimed them British subjects, just as the Burgher commander had penetrated close to Moshesh's chief stronghold, Thaba Bossigo having everywhere been victorious in their advance. This somewhat annoyed the Free State, as they regarded Sir P. Wodehouse's action as a breach of the Convention of 1854, and the Volksraad sent a deputation to the English to protest against this step. Kindly, but firmly, they were distinctly told that the step was not taken out of any hostility to their State, but purely for the future benefit of South Africa. A definite boundary line was then agreed to between all parties and confirmed by the Convention of Aliwal North, entered into on the 12th of March, 1869; and it has remained as then settled ever since.

There was only one other source of trouble after this time, which arose through grants of farms, in the Griqua territory of the chief, Waterboer, having been conceded by the British Resident, in 1848-52, at Bloemfontein, to any European applying for them—he not having then any knowledge of Waterboer's claim thereto. After the relinquishment of the country by the British, Waterboer complained to the Free State Government; and the matter would doubtless have been easily settled, had not diamonds been discovered all over his District. Thousands of adventurers and diggers from all parts of the world at once rushed in. The Free State then sent a magistrate over the District which it claimed, and the Transvaal

Republic did the same with regard to those parts north of the Vaal River. Waterboer himself then reasserted his rights, claimed the protection of the English Government, and ceded his District to the Government, who proclaimed it British territory on October 27, 1871, as the province of Griqualand West, and appointed officials to carry on the government, reserving the question of the settlement of boundaries to be determined by arbitration. To this the Free State objected; but in 1876 the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Carnarvon, invited President Brand to visit England to settle the dispute personally; and the result thereof was the payment of £90,000 by Her Majesty's Government as settlement in full of all claims. As an additional proof of good friendship towards the Free State a further sum of £15,000 was offered towards the construction of railways in that territory. The good understanding then come to between the two Governments was productive of much good at the time, and has lasted until the present; having only been partially interrupted for the few months during the recent struggle in the Transvaal—in the settlement of which, however, the Orange Free State President took a prominent and peaceful part.

President Brand was elected third President of the Orange Free State in 1864, after the resignation and return to the Transvaal of M. W. Pretorius, who had succeeded the first President, Mr. Boshoff. The Orange Free State consists of about 70,000 square miles, and had in 1854 about 25,000 inhabitants, of whom more than half were of European descent.

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSVAAL FOUNDED.

Character of Transvaal Boers—Their Attempts at Government—Native Laws—Potgieter and Makapan's Tragedy—Internecine Strife—Death of A. Pretorius—Election of his Son as President—His Transfer to Bloemfontein—Party Divisions against W. M. Pretorius' Return—Boundary Proclamations—Consequent Disputes and Arbitrations—Their Results—Pretorius Resigns—Discovery of Gold Fields—Influx of Miners, &c.—Want of firm Government—Election of Rev. T. F. Burgers—"Grondwet" of 1858—Burger's Officials.

HAVING thus brought that part of the early history of the Boers, which was connected with the Cape Colony, and with the foundation successively of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, down to the point where the British Government granted to both the latter their independence, I now come, in the natural sequence of things, to the more immediate description of the foundation, progress, fall, and final resurrection of the Transvaal and its people—the real subject-matter of this work; and if at times I am too prolix with details, too dry with statistics, or too strong with my language and condemnation, the importance of the subject, not only to the Transvaal Boers, but to the British South African Colonies and the Empire generally, must plead as my excuse for endeavouring—while placing before my readers both sides of the question—to make clear "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Those who have followed me so far in the Boer peregrinations will easily understand that the class of men who peopled the Transvaal and first erected a government of their own, were more unsettled, less educated, and more narrow-minded than their compatriots, who had been satisfied to remain in the Cape, Orange Free State, or Natal. In addition to those who "trekked" northward at the time of the great exodus, there were many of a lawless, daring and sometimes criminal

character, either roving about or already settled down in the more retired portions of the State. Furthermore, adventurers from every part of South Africa, and other countries, flocked into it as the rumours spread about of gold and diamonds being found there. I trust, therefore, that I shall not be thought to malign the Boers, or their early governmental institutions, in thus drawing attention to what were doubtless important drawbacks to their first attempts at law and order. Added to this, it must not be forgotten that the white population was small, and much scattered over an extent of country larger than France—nearly 120,000 square miles—separated from each other by impassable country, no roads, and numerous tribes of natives, all jealous of the white man's encroachments. So that it need surprise no one to find that it took years even to establish a Government at all, much less get it to work properly under difficulties before which many other nations would have shrunk. The Boers also dreaded the further interference of the British nation, and were chary of intercourse with the surrounding countries, even going so far as to prevent missionaries going up north among the savage tribes. One of their fundamental laws in the constitution of the Republic was to the effect "that the people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with white inhabitants, neither in State nor Church"; and when it is remembered that the conduct of the natives, and their mismanagement by the British authorities at the Cape, were among the principal causes of the Boer exodus northwards, it will not be surprising that they should make common cause against all Kaffirs, and in pursuance of their old and—when properly carried out—successful policy of extermination, should regard the natives as an entirely inferior race, only fit for slavery.

Even Mr. Noble, who certainly is no champion of the Boers, though thoroughly impartial in all his historical statements about them, says:—"They made little scruple about obtaining native children, sometimes as captives of war, sometimes by purchase from the natives, and sometimes by mere violence. The children so procured were indentured (or as it is called 'Inbocked') up to the age of twenty-two or twenty-five

years"—and as the Kaffirs rarely knew their age, this indentureship lasted as long as the master pleased.—"It was a common practice on the Border in the early days of the Cape Colony, but it was liable to abuse, especially in a state of society untrammelled by authority, and not very solicitous as to the rights, nor very careful as to the lives, of the aborigines. Acts of cruelty and wrong were thus committed which provoked retaliation, and hostilities with the savage tribes around them frequently occurred, requiring the whole community to unite for mutual defence. *The wonder is that so few outrages* have been recorded in connection with the collisions inevitable between these two races, situated on the margin of civilization in the wilderness."

Some two years after the Sand River Convention, one of these collisions occurred, in 1854, which for cruelty and ferocity on both sides is, I am glad to say, the only one of the kind that I have ever heard of, or History repeats; and, therefore, I give it at length, as illustrative of my foregoing remarks. On one of the numerous hunting and trading expeditions, so much in vogue among the early Boers, who also found them very profitable, a man named Herman Potgieter, a brother of the celebrated commandant—well known previously among the Kaffir tribes to the north, and not above an occasional raid, and indiscriminate slaughter and capture of the children for sale to the traders on the East coast—was passing the kraals of a native chief named Makapan, who had previously suffered from such raids, when the party was set upon, tortured, and murdered with most savage cruelty. Potgieter himself was pinned to the ground with assegais and skinned alive. On the receipt of this news at Potchefstrom a large commando was got together, under M. W. Pretorius, son of the old "Voor trekker," and was joined by another force under Mr. P. G. Potgieter, a nephew of the murdered man, from the districts of Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg, making a total of over 500 mounted men, with 116 waggons and two field pieces. The two parties combined, and soon followed up Makapan and his tribe, who had retired to some large caves immediately on the advance of the Boer commando. Here a collision took place,

resulting in the defeat of the Kaffirs, who retired still further into the caves, which were dark, and over 500 yards in length by 100 in breadth. Thither the Boers dared not follow them, so other plans were devised and carried out. First, an attempt was made to blast the rocks above, and fill up the entrances or crush the Kaffirs; but it failed through the slate formation of the rocks not proving suitable for such operations. Next, orders were given to besiege the caves, and guard all the entrances, shooting down all that appeared, in order to starve out the besieged. Notwithstanding every precaution, and constant watch day and night, in which both sides lost men, including Potgieter's nephew, no effect was produced; so after eight days it was finally determined to block up all the entrances with wood and stone. This work lasted three weeks, and employed nearly all the men and fifty teams of oxen. Many of the poor wretches thus blocked up soon began to suffer from thirst; but they were ruthlessly killed whenever they showed themselves. At last, so many died within that the stench, even in the open air outside, was unbearable; and nearly 1,000 were killed outside as well. This state of things lasted nearly a month, during which the Kaffirs just managed to exist on the stores of food and water which they had taken in with them on their retreat. At last opposition gradually diminished, and the stench from within increased; and upon the final advance of the Boers, unopposed, it was found that nearly the whole tribe was destroyed. Their object fully accomplished, the Boers returned home; and for many years afterwards the white men were unmolested in that region. Sad as it is, yet I think the above description teaches a lesson, and shows us that savages must be fought, to a great extent, with their own weapons. It was only by so doing that the few Boers in the Transvaal were then enabled to maintain their position amid hordes of savages: whereas, in later years it has required a large army to effect, with much greater loss of time and material, that which a few mounted Boers, fighting on a different system, used to do in a comparatively short but summary way.

The Transvaal Boers, though able to keep down the natives

in their country, were yet unable to prevent differences among themselves; and for many years the country had no central government at all worthy of the name, but was split up among them in four sections. Old Andries Pretorius had a large section united under his sway around the Magaliesburg. Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg had also each a kind of semi-government of their own; while another party, to the south, remained independent of all the others. The old Pretorius died in 1853, advising with his last breath the "fathers of the land" to give up party strife, become united, and encourage religion and education. His son, W. M. Pretorius (one of the now well-known Triumvirate) became President, and in a manner succeeded in uniting the different parties. But for many years the power of the central authority at Potchefstrom was weak in establishing peace and preserving order, in proportion as the distance from its seat increased. Considering the vast extent of country included in its area, and the difficulties caused by a small and widely-separated population, the progress of the country, even in those days, was remarkable; and though not so great or so steadily progressive as that of its sister State south of the Vaal, yet it was sufficient to show what could be done with the country under a settled and respected form of Government.

The First President of the Free State, M. Boshoff, having died in 1859, the people, by a large majority, elected Mr. W. M. Pretorius out of four candidates, to succeed him; and with the consent of all parties Mr. Pretorius left Potchefstrom and proceeded to Bloemfontein, where he remained until 1863, endeavouring meanwhile to carry out his pet scheme of uniting the two Republics under one strong Government. This, however, found favour neither with the Home authorities, who stated that they considered such a proceeding would annul the Conventions of 1852 and 1854, nor with the Free Staters themselves, who had begun thoroughly to appreciate the blessings of a good Government, and who knew that many of the Transvaalers were not so enlightened, and were opposed to the action of any authority whatever. So the scheme dropped then, but has been renewed more lately, and it is, in my

opinion, one of the certainties and necessities of the future. The dissensions in the Transvaal, which had increased during Mr. Pretorius' absence in the Free State, were so great that he was compelled to return to Potchefstrom in 1863. Meanwhile, each party had tried successively to obtain paramount authority, and various leaders were put forward from time to time, and displaced through the temporarily united efforts of the others. Actual strife occasionally broke out between the various factions, and on one occasion in 1863, at Pretoria, two rival parties took the field armed, the one under Paul Kruger and the other under Commandant Schoeman. The former was the recognized head of the "Doppers," who were a narrow-minded religious sect; while those under the latter were more advanced and liberal in their opinions. Kruger's force occupied Pretoria, then a small village; while Schoeman was in laager outside. They had constant skirmishes at long distances, several night alarms, and sentry drills; but no actual collision took place, and the whole affair ended in smoke, or rather a kind of patched-up reconciliation.

This state of things of course obstructed the progress of the country, and Mr. Pretorius was again made President; when, unfortunately, in 1868, he issued a Proclamation describing the boundaries of the Transvaal, and caused such a disturbance with "British, Boers, and Blacks," that he had to resign. The boundaries, as then claimed, were: on the North, the Limpopo or Crocodile River; on the East—by friendly treaty with the Portuguese—the Lebomba Mountains; on the South, the Vaal River; and on the West, the Hatt River. To all these, however, objections were made, and the British Government even refused to recognize in any way whatever the validity of such a proclamation. Many native chiefs between the Oliphants River and the Limpopo, forming the District of Zoutpansberg, protested; and this brought things to such a crisis that the Dutch town of Schoemansdal, in Lat. 23° S. Long. 30° E., was abandoned, while in the south-east a strip of land on the Zulu Border, between the Blood and Pongola Rivers, was claimed by each nation, until at last the Zulu King Cetywayo requested the Natal Government to take it over as a

barrier against encroachment by the Transvaal. This was not carried out, but a commission was appointed to take the evidence of Dutch and Zulus, and upon the basis of the evidence therein given Sir Bartle Frere awarded nearly all the portion in dispute to the Zulu nation, who, however, lost it again the same year during the war with the British. Again, in the south, the actual course of the Vaal River, from its source, was in dispute between the sister Republics; but this was referred to and settled amicably by the Governor of Natal, Mr. Keate. The same gentleman was made the referee in the proceedings, then under arbitration by the British Government, of the claims of Waterboer, the Griqua chief, to what is now known as the Bloemhof District. The abritrators not being able to agree, the final award was left to Governor Keate, who decided against the Republic. Sir H. Barkly, then Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, accepted the Griquas as British subjects by a Proclamation in 1871—an act which was much disliked by the Transvaal and Free State Burghers, and protested against by them as another breach of the Sand River Convention of 1852. Let that be as it may, the direct consequence to the President Pretorius was fatal, as the Volksraad repudiated his acquiescence in both the arbitration and award, and questioned his right to act alone for his Government. After such a step there was nothing left but for him to resign, which he did. The British authorities, however, refused to listen to the repudiation and protest of the Volksraad, and have abided by the Keate award ever since. But the subject is still a constant source of discontent and grumbling, and combined with the "Frere Zulu award," and other matters in connection with the Northern tribes, has been made use of in the recent disturbances for recalling wrongs and the attainment of redress.

Meanwhile, owing to the discoveries—by Karl Mauch, the traveller; H. Hartley, the hunter; Thomas Baines, the geographer, and others, from 1865 to 1872—of large quantities of gold in the north-west of the Transvaal, on the Tati River, at Marabastad, and later on at Leydenburg—while even still further to the north and east, in Umahibiland and Sofala, the

presence of large gold-fields was discovered and heard of—large numbers of miners, settlers, and adventurers, followed by traders and storekeepers, poured in from all sides; and, whether they liked it or not, the Boers had to make the best of matters. The Government at first tried to stop the immigration, then, finding that useless, to restrain it; but all to no avail. New towns sprang up, properties hitherto valueless were sold for large prices, speculators bought up vast tracts of land, while trade increased, and a newer, more liberal and powerful system of government was wanted. The people themselves were either unable or unwilling to choose another President from among their own ranks, when Pretorius resigned; so they took the advice of many of their Cape friends and selected the Rev. Thomas François Burgers—a clergyman born at the Cape but educated in Holland, belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, and pastor of Hanover, Cape Colony. This gentleman accepted the office, and was sworn in as State President for five years in 1872. Like the Orange Free State under John Brand, the Transvaal then entered upon a new existence, one which, however, from various causes, which I shall indicate hereafter, did not possess in itself the elements of the success which has attended the new career of its sister Republic.

The earliest constitution of the Republican Government of the Transvaal under Pretorius' Presidentship, or "Grondwet," as it is called among them, was proclaimed on the 18th of February, 1858, but had received from time to time many alterations by the resolutions of the Volksraad, in whom the powers of Government were vested. This Volksraad was composed of forty-two members; three members for each of the twelve Districts:—Potchefstrom, Pretoria, Rustenberg, Heidelberg, Marico, Wakkerstrom, Middelberg, Leydenberg, Utrecht, Walesberg, Zoutpansberg and Bloemhof; and six separate members for the following chief towns—Potchefstrom, Pretoria, Rustenberg, Leydenberg and Gold Fields (two). The qualification for a seat in the Volksraad was Burghership for three years, possession of landed property, and being a member of a Protestant church. To be a Burgher necessitated a residence of one year in the country, and the possession of taxed pro-

perty; or, in the case of an alien, a payment of £7 10*s.*, and taking the oath of allegiance to the Republican Government. The administration of Government was performed by an Executive Council, including the State President, elected for five years, State Secretary, also elected for five years, and three unofficial members, chosen by the Volksraad. A Landdrost, or magistrate, was appointed to each District, who had a clerk and other officials under him. The Court of Appeal, or Supreme Court, at that time consisted of three Landdrosts and a jury of twelve Burghers; but this was changed by President Burgers. All the male Burghers between sixteen and sixty were liable to compulsory military service, and non-resident owners of land, in the event of war, had to pay a war-tax. While on commando the Burghers armed themselves and provided means of transport; but they were entitled to share all captured cattle, &c., between them, after deducting certain shares for the State. A paper currency had been issued in 1865, at a great discount, and the credit of the State was undoubtedly very low when President Burgers took office.

It may be as well, at the end of this chapter, to give the list of the State appointments and their occupants at this time, as it will be of value in tracing future events. They were as follows:—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

State President.—T. F. Burgers, LL.D.

State Secretary.—N. J. R. Swart.

Members.—S. J. P. Kruger, C. Joubert, and J. C. Holtshausen (later on Joseph Fourie).

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(Volksraad).

President.—C. J. Bodenstien.

Secretary.—T. G. C. Van Leenhof.

First Government Secretary.—H. Stiemens.

Second ,, ,, C. Van Böschoten.

Third ,, ,, H. Stiemens, jun.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

Treasurer General.—H. Van Breda.
Attorney General.—Dr. E. F. P. Jorrissen.
Postmaster General.—J. De Vogel (later on F. Jeppe).
Auditor General and Orphan Master.—H. C. Bergsma.
Inspector of Education.—J. W. Van Gorkom.
Registrar General.—J. J. Meintjes.
Surveyor General.—S. Melville (later on M. Forsmann).
Chief of Artillery.—Captain O. Riedel.
Commandant.—A. Aylward.
Landdrosts.—Potchefstrom; Pretoria; Rustenberg; Heidelberg; Leydenberg (Mr. Coopen, and then Mr. Roth); Middelberg; Wakkerstrom; Nazareth (newly formed); Marico; Utrecht; Walesberg; Zoutpansberg; Bloemhof, or Christiana.
Native Commissioner, New Scotland.—Mr. Bell.
Consul General, England.—J. J. Pratt.
,, ,, *Holland.*—A. Roland Holst.
,, ,, *France.*—J. De Mosenthal.
Portuguese Consul General at Potchefstrom.—Chevalier O. W. A. Forssman.
Belgian Consul General at Pretoria.—Baron de Sélys-Fanson.

The Revenue in 1872 was £40,988, and the expenditure £35,714. The ordinary Revenue was derived from quit rents on farms, sale of State lands, licenses, stamps, and fees, a waggon duty on traders passing through the State, an import duty on goods imported, and several other minor sources.

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSVAAL PROGRESS.

New Progressive Policy—Cape Loan—Railway Scheme to Delagoa Bay—Journey to Europe—Portuguese Assistance—Loan floated in Holland—Prospectus and President's Letter—Native Troubles again—Secocoeni—His District, Tribe and Allies—Gold Discoveries and Influx of People—Collision with "Johannes"—War declared against the Bapedi—Failure of Attack—Dispersal of Commando—Volksraad Convened—Leydenberg Volunteer Corps started—Secocoeni held in Check—Sues for Peace—Gold-Fields Dispute—Arrival of Captain Clarke, R.A.

President Burgers inaugurated his term of office by introducing several sweeping reforms and many new ideas after the system of more civilized governments—not before they were needed, it is true; but, as after events proved, in too wholesale a manner to be understood or appreciated by the greater portion of the old Boer element. For a time, however, this new order of things went well, and the astonishment or doubt of the older men was more than counterbalanced by the success attendant on the first initiation of the new policy, and the support given thereto by the Government officials and the more enlightened Burghers. With the approval and consent of the Volksraad, a loan of £60,000 was obtained from the Cape Commercial Bank at Cape Town, at six per cent., for the purpose of redeeming at par the paper money issued by the Pretorius Government in 1865, and then at a low discount; although when some of these £1 notes were called up and burnt, some time previously (their value then being about five shillings each), many of the Boers and "Doppers" crowded round and wrathfully exclaimed against "such a wilful waste of the money of the country." Postage stamps were also issued; a Judge was appointed for the Supreme Court, and the laws were revised by a Barrister from the Cape; all public

lands were surveyed; schemes were proposed for the promotion of education and religion; and gold produced in the country was coined for the Republic. The new President's most important and far-sighted step was, however, the authority to effect a loan of half a million sterling for the construction of a railway from Pretoria to the Portuguese Port at Delagoa Bay, on the 3ft. 6in. gauge. This scheme had been materially forwarded by the advice and assistance of Mr. G. P. Moodie, C.E., a member of Government. This gentleman, after three journeys, all made on foot, was successful in finding out a healthy route, along the line of hills sloping gradually to the seaward. The line from Pretoria to New Scotland and the Drakensberg was easy and fairly level, while easy gradients could be secured thence by the Lebomba to Delagoa Bay. The distances are, from Pretoria to New Scotland, 130 miles, and thence 110 miles to the sea, or about 240 miles in all. The object of this proposed railway was twofold: firstly, it was to open up the great mineral resources of the Transvaal, already well known and established; and, secondly, to enable the country to import its own goods without the payment of such heavy duties and expenses as were levied at the Cape and Natal Ports, and of which duties none ever came into the hands of the Transvaal Government.

The scheme, if properly carried out, was at once seen to be the death-blow to the overberg and inland trade of both Natal and the Cape; and, accordingly, great opposition was shown to the execution of the work by both these Colonies. Nothing daunted, but backed up by the reports of good engineers, the wishes of his Government, and the friendly reciprocal feelings shown by the Portuguese Government, the President, duly authorized, left for Europe in 1875. He was duly received at the British Court as the recognized Head of the Transvaal or South African Republic. He concluded a treaty with Portugal, by which that Government was to subsidize the railway to the whole amount of its cost from Delagoa Bay to the limit of their territory; and also arranged in Holland for the issue of a railway loan of £500,000, at six per cent. of which £90,000 was at once subscribed for on the terms offered.

In consequence of the success of the loan, much of the material required for the railway was ordered in Europe by the President, who then set out on his return journey, with the good wishes of the European Powers with whom he had come in contact. But he returned to the Transvaal only to find affairs there generally in a dreadful state. Previously to his accession to the Presidentship, there had not been very many internal troubles with the natives since the difficulty about the Border, which occurred under Pretorius. It is true there had been one or two outbreaks on the part of a chief named Mapoch, who lived within the Border, but he had been easily reduced to submission on both occasions, and was then completely quiet on his own mountain. Thefts of cattle also were of common occurrence, and it was principally through them that the first campaign was undertaken by a Transvaal commando against Secocoeni. This chief, originally a Basuto, was the son of Sequati, chief of the Bapedi, who occupied the mountainous fever-stricken district about Leydenberg, and whose territory was within the Border, but had been considered as an independent native reserve. Sequati, who had always been friendly with the Boers, occupied this land by treaty, and its boundaries were then the Steelport and Oliphants Rivers. After Sequati's death, Secocoeni became anxious to enlarge his tribe and influence, and encouraged refugees to come into his district, under their own chiefs and laws. In this way, and through sickness having caused most of the Boers to evacuate the lands surrounding—the town of Orijstadt being entirely deserted from that cause alone—Secocoeni was for a long time enabled to encroach over the Transvaal boundaries without coming into actual collision with the Boers. Among many refugees who joined him, from time to time, the principal chief was Umsoet, who had quarrelled with his own tribe, the Amaswazi, and brought in nearly 300 fighting men with him. Other parties came from the Mambeyers, Mopolaner and Knobkose Kaffir tribes; and by this means Secocoeni was gradually able to surround himself, at any rate, along the southern Border of his territory from the Speckboom River to Mapoch's reserve, by a formidable living barrier, which, however, soon came into contact with the Boers,

causing the war which followed, and ending in the final capture of himself and break-up of the Bapedi.

The cattle thefts, which were of common occurrence, and a frequent cause of conflicts, were sometimes encouraged with a purpose, as will be seen from the following extract from Baines' "Gold Regions of S.E. Africa":—"I was speaking to a friend respecting the new discoveries, and we both agreed that it would be very wrong to make war upon the natives and take the gold-fields away from them. 'But,' said my friend, 'I would work with foresight (voorzegtigheid). I would send cattle farmers to graze their herds near the borders, and the Kaffirs would be sure to steal them; but if not, the owner could come away, and he could even withdraw his herdsmen, and let them run day and night, then the Kaffirs could not resist the temptation. We could then go in and claim the stolen cattle, and if the Kaffirs resisted and made war, of course they would lose their country.'" Baines, however, adds:—"This idea of justice to the native is held by, I hope, only a few among them; and I have never heard of my friend's diplomacy being carried into execution, and am happy to say the occupation of the gold-fields is being carried on without the necessity for any policy that is not fair to both sides."

The discovery of gold in 1871 brought into the district large numbers of all classes of men, and frightened both Boers and Blacks. Of course explorations went on, and parties prospected in Secocoeni's country, as well as beyond the Transvaal bounds in other directions. About this time also some German missionaries, having been unable to convert Secocoeni, left his reserve and settled themselves on a fine station between Leydenberg and the Speckboom River; while, close by, a petty chief, named Johannes, a so-called convert, also established himself in a strong position, from which he could visit the mission station, or steal cattle, whichever suited his disposition. Early in 1876, things had come to such a pass that Johannes prevented some Boers from cutting wood on a farm to which the Kaffirs had no legal claim, and further resisted the authorities. It was then reported to the Government that this rebellion on Johannes' part was prompted by Secocoeni; and when news

reached them that the mission station had been burnt down, and some of the mission Kaffirs killed, war was declared against the aggressors, much against Mr. Burgers' own will, and although the country was not prepared for any such war. Added to this, however, it must not be forgotten that Umsoet, and other petty chiefs under Secocoeni, had constantly stolen cattle ; and when remonstrances were sent to him he undertook to return the cattle on condition that his right to the whole district of Leydenberg was admitted. A large commando of Burghers and native allies at once marched against the Kaffirs, under several commandants, and accompanied by the President himself. The whole force was hastily gathered together, and in no fit state to keep the field long, especially as the wet or fever season was just commencing. Its strength amounted to over 2,000 Boers, the same number of native allies, and about 500 waggons. The commando took some Border kraals, killed Johannes, and then marched in two divisions to attack Secocoeni's town at Thaba Mosegu. A night attack was made, but for various reasons failed, and the combined forces then withdrew to the camp. A large meeting was held and a resolution passed to discontinue the war at that time; and, with the exception of a very few, the main body refused to attack again, and retired to their homes. The President was then in a fix. As to the charges of cowardice made against the Boers, and other reports much circulated at the time, it would be useless to inquire into them. Let the whole of the facts, at the time, be considered, and the subsequent events taken into account, and I think people will be able to form a fair opinion for themselves. There is one point, however, which I wish to point out, viz. :— That the return home of the commando was not regarded as a retreat by the Kaffirs themselves, who otherwise would have attacked them on their march back to camp. On the contrary, far from being able or willing to attack the Boers, and invade the Transvaal, it was fully two months after the retreat of the commando, and when the conduct of the war was entrusted only to volunteers, that the Kaffirs mustered up courage to make an unsuccessful attack on one of the outlying forts situated in their own country.

After the resolution come to by the farmers not to continue the war at that time, owing to a variety of causes, among which the principal were scarcity of provisions and ammunition, and the known dangerous approach of the sickly season, the President had no other course open than to summon the Volksraad and point out to them the danger of the situation. During the previous year, 1875, while President Burgers was away in Europe, financial matters had not progressed well. Although the revenue, £69,928, balanced the expenditure, £69,593, yet the increased taxation had produced great dissatisfaction among the older Boers, who had always been opposed to taxes of any kind, looking upon them as oppressive acts. When, therefore, besides this increased and heavy taxation, special demands were made for a war-tax of £10 on every farm, many simply refused to pay at all, and all obedience to the law and the constituted authorities ceased. The Government soon found itself in difficulties, without funds or adequate means of compelling the payment of the just taxes levied by order of the Volksraad, the salaries of the public officials remaining unpaid—even that of the President—and the interest of the public debt also in arrears. Altogether it was felt that the exigencies of the case demanded quick and strong remedies, unless the State was to be allowed to drift into national bankruptcy and an overwhelming internal war.

Meanwhile, after the withdrawal of the Boer commando, the President received an offer from Captain Von Schlieckmann, an officer in the Prussian service, of great bravery and acknowledged ability, to raise a corps of volunteers to occupy the frontier by means of a chain of detached forts, to harass the enemy so as to prevent their making any incursions from their stronghold on the surrounding country, and by means of incessant patrols and night attacks, and combined movements, to prevent Secocoeni getting together, during the spring and summer, any stock of food sufficient to enable him to engage in a second campaign. This offer was closed with thankfully by the President and the farmers, who could not possibly be expected to invest Secocoeni's stronghold during the sickly season, or until the winter enabled them to attack him again.

Power to raise and equip such a force was given to Von Schlieckmann, who set about the congenial task at once. Over a hundred men were raised at the Diamond Fields and elsewhere, Government to find them salted horses, rifles, ammunition, food, and equipments, with £5 per month per man, and at the end of the war a free gift of a farm each of 4,000 acres was promised on condition of occupation by themselves or substitutes for five years. The corps consisted of a commandant, four lieutenants, an artillery officer, a doctor, 108 men, and about 70 horses. Von Schlieckmann got a few men together at the time, and proceeded at once to the Steelport River, where he built the first fort, called Fort Burgers, a six-angled redoubt, near the confluence of the Steelport and Speckboom Rivers. In the meanwhile Lieutenant A. Aylward—afterwards Commandant—brought up the recruits from the Diamond Fields. They were armed at Pretoria with Westley-Richards rifles, and sent off by the President at once to the front, with nine waggons loaded with ammunition, food, and necessaries. The Government had, however, been unable to secure the salted horses, but promised to send them up afterwards; while the Treasury was so empty that the Government could only contribute to the military chest the sum of £25 in small silver. The work done by this corps of Leydenberg Volunteers—assisted by a Swazie contingent under Eckersley—the death of Von Schlieckmann, and all the other interesting details of their fun and fights, are they not well described in Aylward's "Transvaal of To-day"? Suffice it for me to say that by their actions they undoubtedly kept Secocoeni in check, and brought about an offer of submission from that chief which was accepted on the 12th of February, 1877. Peace was then proclaimed along the Border, and arrangements were made for the delivery of the 2,000 head of cattle promised by Secocoeni, and for his recognition of the suzerainty of the Republic. The fever then broke out among the corps, many of whom had been sent to garrison other forts further advanced in the country, and they were ordered back to Krugers Post and Leydenberg. Part of another force of volunteers, under Captain Van Deventer, was recalled from Fort Weeber to

garrison Pretoria, then in an uproar through the arrival of Sir Theophilus Shepstone as Her Majesty's High Commissioner. At the Gold Fields a conflict nearly broke out between the British and Republican parties, the former wishing to be governed by an authority that could protect them, and the latter resenting the interference of outsiders while they were doing their best with the force at their command to arrange matters suitably for all. By the exercise of a little tact and judicious management on the part of the authorities, an outbreak was avoided, and Leydenberg remained quiet until the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir T. Shepstone on the 12th of April, when the Leydenberg Volunteer Corps was disbanded by Captain Clarke, R.A., the new Gold-Fields Commissioner.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRANSVAAL ANNEXATION.

Confederation Schemes—Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Froude—Cape Hostility—South African Conference in London—Burgers' Helplessness—Extraordinary Session of Volksraad—Sir Theophilus Shepstone's Arrival—His Policy and Acts—Transvaal Annexation—Protest of Volksraad and President—Deputation to England—New Government Officials—Raising Native Police Force—Great Discontent and Danger—Second Proclamation—Return of Deputation—Memorial got up—Second Deputation despatched—Distinguished Visitors—Anthony Trollope—Sir A. Cunynghame—Re-commencement of Native Hostilities.

At the time the Transvaal was thus getting into difficulties, in 1876-7, the British Government were again directing their attention to a scheme of confederation of all the Colonies and States in South Africa. This was no new idea, as, so far back as the year 1858, the Volksraad of the Orange Free State passed a resolution:—"That the Raad feels itself in unison with a large number of the Burghers who have already approached it by memorial, convinced that a union or alliance with the Cape Colony either on the plan of federation or otherwise is desirable; and resolves that his Honour the State President (Mr. Boshoff) be requested to correspond with his Excellency the Governor on that subject, in order thus to ascertain whether the Cape Parliament will declare itself inclined for such a union, and whether the Colonial Government would receive a commission from this State, if possible, at one of the towns on the Eastern Province, who, together with that Government, or with a commission to be appointed by it, shall draft the preliminary terms of such a union, to be thereafter submitted for the approval of both Governments." The then Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, and the Secretary of State in England were both most favourably inclined to the idea, and a scheme was ably drawn out by Sir George for the

realization of a federal union; but political events happened to prevent its acceptance, and Sir George was removed to another sphere. Earl Carnarvon took office as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1874, and directed all his efforts to arouse a feeling in favour of confederation among the South African Colonies and States. But matters were again nipped in the bud by the action of the Cape Responsible Ministry and their House of Assembly, who almost unanimously rejected the idea, and refused even to consider the matter by sending Delegates to England, as was done by Natal and the Orange Free State to a conference which took place in 1876.

The history of the South African Conference is as follows:— In 1875 Earl Carnarvon wrote a despatch to Sir H. Barkly, the Cape Governor, in which he proposed a conference of Delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal, Griqualand, Orange Free State and Transvaal Republics, to discuss—Firstly, the advisability of a common native policy; and secondly, the confederation of all the Colonies and States under the British Imperial authority. The despatch, after referring to the various causes which had given rise to such a proposal, and urging its acceptance upon those interested, nominated Mr. Froude, the historian, as a representative of the British Government, and commended him to the Cape Government as being eminently fitted to assist their conferences both by his strong interest in all Colonial questions and the particular attention he had already paid to those of South Africa especially. This step of Lord Carnarvon's excited great dissatisfaction on the part of the Cape Government; and when Mr. Froude arrived in Cape Town the proposal for a conference was already declined. But, as many of the Colonial papers and Colonists seemed to favour the scheme, Mr. Froude lectured on its merits at a series of public meetings. This course was thought by many to have been unconstitutional, and against the spirit of the Responsible Government granted to the Cape. Mr. Froude then returned to England. In 1876, when President Brand had come over, to settle the claims of the Orange Free State with regard to the Diamond Fields, and Mr. Molteno, the Cape Colonial Prime Minister, was also there, to arrange for

the future government of Griqualand West, Lord Carnarvon suggested a conference on South African affairs. This Conference was held at the Colonial Office in August, 1876, presided over by Earl Carnarvon, and attended by President Brand —who, however, was precluded by his instructions from the Volksraad from taking any active part in the discussion. Sir T. Shepstone, Messrs. Akerman and Robinson, two Delegates from Natal, and Mr. Froude, nominated by the Colonial Minister as the representative for Griqualand West (the Diamond Fields), were also present. Mr. Molteno did not attend, having no authority to do so. There were several sittings, and the results are now published and known through the medium of the Blue Books. In the result, Sir H. Barkly, being unable to persuade the Cape Government to look upon the Confederation Scheme with any degree of favour, was replaced by Sir H. B. E. Frere, from whom great things were expected. His instructions were most definite and peremptory, and large discretionary powers were given him, as High Commissioner over all British South Africa. The annexation of the Transvaal, the Gaika and Galeka wars at the Cape, the Zulu, Moroisi, and Secocoeni campaigns followed, and for the time completely set aside the great Confederation Scheme, which is now, I venture to say, farther off realization than ever, owing to the vacillating policies of the successive Home Governments and their Colonial Secretaries of State.

Matters were in this state in Great Britain and South Africa when, in the Transvaal, seeing that desperate measures were required, President Burgers again summoned the Volksraad in extraordinary session, in February, 1877, and put the alternatives clearly before the members—Either there must be a prompt reform of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches, and the inhabitants must unite cordially and vigorously in acting up to the necessities of the case, and support by every means in their power their own elected Government; or they would have to accept Lord Carnarvon's proposals for confederation, or see the State drift into bankruptcy, anarchy, and internal disruption. While these important questions were actually under deliberation, Sir T. Shepstone—a curious coincidence—arrived at Pretoria as a Special Commissioner (vague and dreaded

name to South Africans) with a staff and a small escort of Natal mounted police. His Excellency stated that he was deputed by the Imperial Government to confer with the Transvaal authorities on the subject of Confederation, and especially with regard to the conduct of native affairs, which threatened, unless vigorously treated, to involve the whole of South Africa in a general native war. Here was a chance for agitators, speculators, and others. Meetings were organized; pressure was brought to bear; the most absurd and untruthful rumours were spread about; and memorials and addresses were presented to the Government to prevent civil war, and other horrors too numerous to mention, by accepting confederation with or annexation to the British Empire. Petitions also were got up and signed by the British part of the population, praying Sir T. Shepstone to take over the country without any more to-do, and to proclaim it British territory at once, on the ground that some of the conditions of the Convention of 1852 had been broken, viz.: that slavery had been permitted, and that neither law nor order existed to protect foreign interests, then represented as being very great. The large majority of the Volksraad were of the old "Voortrekker" stamp, and did not in any way wish again to come under British rule; but, on the other hand, they professed themselves as unable to solve the difficult problem of self-government on a new, thorough, and strong basis. Therefore, while still in doubt, and surrounding events on the Borders and elsewhere proving the danger of a reign of terror, Sir T. Shepstone stepped in, issued a Proclamation in virtue of his authority, as shown by his commission of appointment (see Appendix A); hoisted the British flag, and annexed the country; sending up Captain Clarke, R.A., as Special Commissioner to the Gold Fields and Native Races in the North-East.

These high-handed, but, no doubt, from his own point of view, perfectly necessary acts, met with no resistance from the Boers. The Government contented itself with issuing a protest, and passing a resolution to send Delegates to England and other countries to protest against the annexation. This was followed by a similar protest from the President (see Appendix

1877

B). Granted the necessity for annexation, no time could have been better chosen, no opportunity more ably seized, no action more carefully considered or carried out, than the steps taken by Sir T. Shepstone and his subordinates in proclaiming the Transvaal British Territory, in the manner and at the time they did. And, had the promises then made been carried out and kept in the same spirit and manner, I, for one, am positive—and many think with me—that no active steps would have ever been taken by the Transvaal Boers for the forcible recovery of their country. Their subsequent actions and moderation during the next three years show this, and prove, if proof were necessary, that had a Royal Commission sat in Pretoria in 1877, or a different policy been carried out by Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Owen Lanyon, the recent terrible events would never have occurred to deepen the feelings of race hatred between Dutch South Africans and British, already bitter enough.

For some time, immediately following the annexation, affairs progressed quietly enough, and the officers appointed by the Administration managed matters expeditiously and carefully. Colonel Brooke, R.E., was Chief of the Staff; Melmoth Osborn, Government Secretary, and Mr. Henderson, a well-known Natal man, Treasurer General; while Captain Clarke assumed the reins of Government in the North-East or Leydenberg District. Reviews—for the 1-13th P.A.L.I. were sent up to garrison the town of Pretoria, and were quickly joined by a body of Mounted Infantry, under Captain Carrington—balls, and other gaieties followed each other in quick rotation; large numbers of new people came into the country; merchants, speculators, capitalists arrived, together with the usual assortment of loafers and place-hunters—always at hand when changes take place—and general prosperity seemed to have set in. But after the appointment of Messrs. Kruger and Jorrissen, as Delegates of the "Protest Commission," with whom was associated Mr. W. Eduard Bok, a clever Hollander, as Secretary, the principal part of the Boers retired to their farms and awaited, with what patience they could, the result of their Deputation to England. The Landdrosts and other officials of the late Government were retained in their offices, upon taking the oath of allegiance to

Her Majesty's Government. So far so good; and had matters been allowed so to continue, all would have been well. But, unfortunately, though doubtless owing to the exigencies of the peculiar circumstances of the position in which the Administrator was placed, Sir T. Shepstone appointed many of his staff and friends to offices unknown to the constitution of the old Government, giving powers of a large extent, and almost irresponsible nature, to men who, to say the least of it, knew little or nothing of the Boers and the Natives in those parts. The men thus appointed, though no doubt able and anxious to do their duty, were crippled by want of local knowledge and that lack of sympathy with those under them, which could only be expected as natural under the circumstances. Other mistakes of a similar nature occurred here and there, and are certainly to be regarded as the cause of much discontent and subsequent expression of hostile feelings by the Boers. While to prevent such public expressions of their wrongs, and the right of petitioning for their removal, Sir T. Shepstone issued a second Proclamation (see Appendix C), in which he stated his opinion that any attempts to re-open the Annexation question would be considered as seditious, and as attempts at rebellion, and be treated as such. But, in addition to these matters, a Native police force of 200 Natal Kaffirs was raised by Sir T. Shepstone, and sent up, under the command of Mr. L. Lloyd, to Captain Clarke, at Leydenberg, to be used as a check to Secocoeni and other neighbouring predatory chiefs. This was looked upon by many with anger and by all with suspicion, as being illegal and unnecessary. It alarmed the Boers, who objected to the raising and arming of any Native force out of the State for service in that State, unless authorized by law. Moreover, it looked like an attempt to bring in Shepstone's old allies, the Zulus, to overawe the Boers—an idea not without some truth in it, as was evidenced by the subsequent disclosures of Magema and Bishop Colenso; but to what extent it was true I have no means of judging. Anyhow, the Native police force was a mistake, and soon led to other misfortunes.

Meanwhile, the deputation, Messrs. Kruger, Jorrissen, and Bok, returned from England, at the end of the year, and imme-

diately reported to their fellow-countrymen their entire failure. They therefore drew up the following Memorial, and sent it to England with another Deputation, consisting of Messrs Kruger, Joubert and Bok:—

"To Lord Carnarvon, Minister for the Colonies in England. Pretoria, January 7, 1878.—We, the undersigned White Inhabitants of the Transvaal, having this day received report from our Deputation sent to England, consisting of the Honourable S. J. P. Kruger, Vice-President of the South African Republic, and Dr. E. F. P. Jorrissen, State Attorney, with the view to get back our independence, of which we have been deprived on the 12th of April, 1877, have learned with deep regret that they have not been able to obtain that object. It pains them so much the more, because it appears most clearly from the documents produced by the Deputation, that the loss of their independence is entirely and solely due to the false and incorrect representations of the position said to have existed here, as given by people who acted from selfish motives —in a word, by calumny. The fact, however, that the Government in England had been so totally misinformed about the real sentiments of the vast majority of the population, inspires the undersigned with courage to venture another attempt, and to show by their signatures that by far the great majority is opposed to the British Sovereignty. We cannot yet dismiss this matter before we have tried the last means to obtain our end by peaceable measures, according to protest dated April 11, 1877. The undersigned cannot yet believe that it could be England's will and desire to reign over a people that will not be subject to any power whatsoever. They much rather believe the words addressed to them to-day by Mr. S. J. P. Kruger, member of the Deputation, when he said: 'Brethren, people in England really do not know the actual position here; and I am fully convinced that England's First Minister, Lord Carnarvon, acted in good faith when he spoke in his despatch to the Deputation of that insignificant minority.' It is therefore with great modesty, but at the same time with fervent earnestness, that we entreat your Lordship to restore to us our country—that country which we love as our lives, and for

which we always were and still are prepared every day to sacrifice our lives. May it therefore please your Lordship to be moved by our numerous signatures, and to restore to us our country. Signed by 6,591 qualified electors of the South African Republic, the original, with signatures attached, being in the possession of the Deputation, and open for the inspection of Her Majesty's Government. In addition to the above, memorials with 301 signatures were obtained, which were informally sent in, and thus have not been counted. Signed, S. J. P. Kruger, P. J. Joubert, Delegates; W. Ed. Bok, Secretary; T. Shepstone, Administrator."

The annexation brought the Transvaal into much prominence in Europe and elsewhere for the time. Among the many distinguished visitors who travelled through it may be mentioned Mr. Anthony Trollope, since called the "Historian of the Annexation;" Colonel Warren, R.E., C.B., the Administrator of Griqualand West, after Sir Owen Lanyon's removal to Pretoria; Major Ravenscroft, well known in the Diamond Fields; Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, K.C.B., Commanding the Troops at the Cape, with his aide-de-camp, poor Coghill, killed afterwards at Isandwhlana; and, of course, Sir T. Shepstone himself, and Judge Coetzee, made the tour of the whole of the Districts in fulfilment of their purely official duties. In speaking of the Administrator's visit to Leydenberg, after that of the General, Aylward, in his book, says:—"The same sort of reception, but colder, was accorded to Sir T. Shepstone, on his arrival, six weeks afterwards. He had not the sportsman's jollity, the winning ways, the hearty manner, or the golden tongue of Her Majesty's Military Representative. He was a crafty-looking and silent man, who never used an unnecessary word or gesture. He was undemonstrative; and, rightly or wrongly, the people believed him to be utterly insincere. Had he not been accompanied by that jovial officer, Captain Carrington, with his troop of Mounted Infantry; Dr. Ash, 13th Regiment; and Lieutenant Brown, 1-24th Regiment, his Excellency's visit would have been an utter failure." Shortly after the Administrator had left Leydenberg, Mr. Bell, the Native Commissioner at New Scotland, was brutally murdered,

and the Natives began to get restless, to such an extent that Captain Clarke had to take some steps, and remonstrate with Secocoeni, which, not being successful, led to the second Secocoeni war.

CHAPTER IX.

TRANSVAAL AND SECOCOENI.

Second War with Secocoeni—Captain Clarke's Policy and Failure—Reinforcements of Volunteers—Massellcroom Massacre—Fever Season sets in—Regulars garrison Towns—Temporary Cessation of Hostilities—Steps to confine Secocoeni—Aylward's Summary of Affairs—Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Chelmsford—Zulu and Dutch disputed Boundary Commission—Final Award and Details—*Ad interim* Steps in Transvaal—Return of the Second Boer Deputation from England—Their Interview with Sir Bartle Frere—Colonel Sir O. Lanyon's Appointment as Administrator—Departure of Sir T. Shepstone for England—Zulu War—Boer Meetings and Measures—Sir Bartle Frere's Journey to Pretoria—Interview with Boer Farmers—Subsequent Steps and Recommendation.

Secocoeni's submission to President Burgers was, curiously enough, coincident with the despatch of a message to Sir T. Shepstone, to the effect that the Boers were killing his people, and that he wished "Somptsen" (Shepstone's Kaffir name) to save him. Some Commissioners, Dutch and English, including Captain Clarke and Mr. Haggard, were then sent up to him to arrange terms of peace; and to them he admitted "that he had no crops, and had lost fourteen of his own family and nearly 2,000 of his people." After the annexation, Captain Clarke was so convinced of Secocoeni's desire for peace that he disbanded the Leydenberg Volunteer Corps, before obtaining any guarantees for the maintenance of peace or the payment of the war indemnity of 2,000 head of cattle. Fort Burgers was left in charge of only an Assistant Native Commissioner, Mr. George Eckersley, and his orderly; while Fort Weeber, on the West side of the Zulu Mountains, was also left to another Assistant Native Commissioner, Captain Diedricht. Not long afterwards, it was found that Secocoeni was evading the payment of the war indemnity; while reports were sent in to Captain Clarke that messengers had been noticed passing to

and from Zululand; and that Masselleroom, or Legolani, Secocoeni's sister, was harassing Native tribes who were British subjects. Later on, Sir T. Shepstone himself was told by all the officials in the District that Secocoeni would make war again as soon as he had sufficient provisions and supplies. Smuggling and gun-running were very prevalent at the time at Leydenberg; and, owing to the absence of any armed force, no steps could be taken effectively to stop it, or to give the protection to the District and Border farmers so much needed in the then state of affairs. In addition to this, the sale of fire-arms to the Natives, hitherto always strictly prohibited by the Boers, was allowed at the Diamond Fields, where Natives from all parts came to work with the sole object of gaining sufficient to purchase guns, and then returning home. The consequence of this was that in five years nearly half a million stand of arms were sold to the Natives in and around the Transvaal—the Zulus obtaining theirs through other methods, better known than appreciated, in Natal and the Portuguese settlements.

Sir T. Shepstone, after thus settling everything to his satisfaction with Secocoeni, left for Utrecht and Natal, accompanied by Captain Clarke, who was desirous of immediately proceeding farther into Natal for the purpose of raising the Native police force, of which I have spoken previously. Not many days after their departure the chief, Mapoch, who, since his defeat by the Boers, had been fairly loyal and quiet, murdered three British subjects. Thereupon the Landdrost sent a sheriff, though with orders not to provoke hostilities, to demand the murderers. They were given up to him, but on account of the defiant action and words of the other Kaffirs, and the want of a small mounted force, he was unable to bring the men away. This was quickly followed by the murder of Mr. Bell, in New Scotland, by some natives in his own District, and although afterwards Mabekana, his murderer, was caught, tried and hanged, yet the moral effect produced at the time by such an outrage was, to say the least, disastrous to British prestige. After repeated applications to Captain Clarke, then in Natal, by all the officials, some of whose lives were openly threatened, that officer authorized the raising of twenty-five provisional

policemen, who were sent up to Fort Weeber to overawe Legolani, and aid the Assistant Commissioner in maintaining a semblance of his authority. Captain Clarke himself then arrived with his Natal-Zulu police, dressed, drilled and armed. This not only frightened all the neighbouring tribes, whether friendly or otherwise, but effectually prevented any help coming from the Swazies, hitherto the Boers' allies, who objected very justly to this arming of their hereditary enemies. Captain Clarke went on to Fort Weeber, and tried to check Secocoeni and his sister. But one day, while riding with an orderly near the Fort, he met some of Legolani's men armed with guns, whom he disarmed, and compelled to surrender their guns to some followers of Pogwani, a British Native ally, always at war with Legolani. This was the spark to the touch-hole. Mr. Eckersley, who had with him four white men and twelve Natives, was at once surrounded at Fort Burgers by an *impi* of 500 men under Secocoeni's brother; another *impi* occupied the pass between the Fort and Ougstadt; a third threatened Kruger's Fort; while the fourth and largest invaded the Waterfall Valley, between Fort Weeber and Leydenberg. Though thus surrounded and cut off, Eckersley gallantly effected his retreat by the aid of some of the Native police, sent for that purpose by the Landdrost Roth of Leydenberg. The outlying farmers were attacked and had to fly to places of safety; while Captain Clarke, with Acting Native Commissioner Schultz, evacuated Fort Weeber *pro tem.*, and brought back the small garrison, leaving however some powder and other property, which the enemy captured. The Provisional police, increased to fifty-six men, only half of whom were mounted, were stationed in the best positions; while Eckersley was sent to guard the Waterfall District with sixteen whites and sixteen of Windvogel's men. Captain Clarke himself, with the Zulu police under Lieutenant Lloyd, returned to Fort Weeber, where he was to have been met by a Volunteer force of 150 men with guns, promised from Pretoria. But he only obtained about fifty of these three weeks afterwards, and they were neither armed nor provisioned, which accordingly had to be done from Leydenberg. Captain Clarke was also promised the assistance of Mapoch in his operations;

but the Swazies, jealous of the employment of the Zulu police, refused any help at this crisis.

In the town of Leydenberg itself there were only twelve policemen, five Volunteer Artillerymen and forty special constables. The fever season was again commencing, and Secocoeni was becoming daily more and more defiant. Captain Clarke soon had to abandon Fort Weeber, having so many men sick. Even the Native allies suffered, and a large hospital established at Leydenberg was soon filled. Notwithstanding all these difficulties Captain Clarke occasionally made raids on the enemy; and on one occasion he attacked and almost captured Legolani's chief town. But after four hours' fighting, in which he lost some policemen, two white officers, and several men wounded, he was obliged to retire, with a capture of over 200 head of cattle and goats. The Zulu police here first showed their worthlessness and freedom from control when excited in the heat of battle. They bayoneted and thrust into the flames of the burning huts all the Natives they met, without distinction of age or sex, with a barbarity seldom shown or allowed by the Natives when allied with the whites. Their officers were badly wounded and powerless to prevent the massacre. On the following day, the stronghold was again attacked by Captain Clarke with his Bechuana allies, who had fled on the previous occasion, and necessitated his retreat. The attack was successful, and Legolani's tribe was at length broken up, all her cattle, with 150 men, women and children being captured, while Legolani and a few of her warriors joined Secocoeni. After this, Captain Clarke built another advanced post, called Fort Mamalube, and was further reinforced by volunteers from Pretoria and the Diamond Fields; while Leydenberg and Middleberg were garrisoned by some companies of the 1-13th P.A.L.I., sent up at once for the purpose. Every effort was now made to finish the war and bring Secocoeni to submission before the winter season ended and the rains began, which is generally about August, lasting to January or February.

About the end of July, 1878, Captain Clarke's position and force were, as given by Aylward, as follows:—"There were about 250 Europeans, with six guns, 100 Zulu police, 408

Kaffirs under Mr. Taunton, and a mixed body of 110 men, under Mr. Eckersley. The stations were Forts Weeber, Mamalube, and Faugh-a-ballagh, and a camp of the Diamond Fields Horse at Droars River, with the Infantry base at Middleberg and Leydenberg." Several lamentable *contretemps* now happened in quick succession, Secocoeni's men cutting off cattle-guards, horses and cattle, at the advanced Fort; while the Native allies broke out into open mutiny, and were followed by the Zulu police. These occurrences might have had serious results but for the opportune arrival of some of Carrington's Mounted Infantry. Later on, the Frontier Light Horse joined the force in September, having come up from the old Colony; and the 80th reinforced the garrison at Pretoria. But no combined movement was effected, and the wet season set in leaving Secocoeni on the offensive. The position of affairs at that time is so aptly and truthfully described by Aylward in his book (page 260) that I cannot do better than reproduce it here. He says, writing at the end of 1878:—"The state of our Kaffir relations at the time of my writing is thus roughly stated: We are all but at war with the Zulus of Zululand; have offended the Amaswazies; are fighting with Secocoeni (at a cost of £12,000 a month); have had to disband our paid Kaffir forces for mutiny; and have in fact no assistance to hope for, save from Mr. Eckersley, who was insulted by raw Natalians being preferred to and placed over him and Windvogel's little band. In addition to this, the Border for 1,200 miles is hostile and watchful; the white population of the Transvaal is decreasing; the volunteers are dissatisfied, and desertions are terribly frequent from the regulars. The Boers, whose territory we have annexed, will not help us, and the country is not worth the price that must be paid for it. There are now troops also in Pondoland, whose marching expenses alone amount to £25,000 a month. Our South African policy promises to satisfy nobody, but to cost us millions."

Meanwhile, Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor, and Lord Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief, having successfully finished the Gaika and Galeka War at the Cape, in which they were materially assisted by the Fingoes, came round to Natal late in

1878 and prepared for the Zulu Campaign, then clearly looming in the distance. Sending up the 80th and some irregulars to the Transvaal to keep matters quiet there while settling the Zulu question, and being followed by the other forces thus released from the Cape and by the regiments then in Natal. Previous to this, however, I ought here to mention that shortly after the annexation, a Commission was sent up in February, 1878, from Natal to Rorke's Drift, consisting of the Attorney-General, Mr. Gallwey, the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. John Shepstone, and Colonel Durnford, R.E., with a secretary and short-hand reporter. The object was to inquire into the relative claims of the Boers and the Zulus to the disputed territory between the Blood and Pongola Rivers. Their report was sent to Sir Bartle Frere to decide upon while he was in Natal. His award, then made known, gave the greater portion of the land in dispute to the Zulus, with the exception of the Districts immediately surrounding Utrecht and Luneberg. The boundary then laid down—being the Blood River, from its junction with the Buffalo to its source, thence in a straight line N.W. to Kruger's Beacon, and from there again for a short distance north to the source of the Pongola—was constituted the northern boundary of the Zulu nation. This boundary was however altered again, after the close of the Zulu war, of which every one knows the history now by heart, and which therefore needs no description of my own in this work. This very boundary question had been an important one for many years previously, giving rise to a series of quarrels, cattle thefts and reprisals, on the part of the Boer inhabitants and the Zulus, both of whom claimed the ground; and no definite settlement could ever be come to about it during the reign of the Transvaal Republican Government, although the matter was finally referred to the Natal Government for inquiry and report. Up to the end of 1877 Sir T. Shepstone, previously Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and the installer and personal friend of Cetywayo, the Zulu king, had always sided with them in the quarrel, believing that the Boers had gradually encroached upon the land. But after his journey to Utrecht, and subsequent interviews with Boers and Zulus, and

the high-handed proceedings and threats of the Zulu Prime Minister and other Zulu chiefs at a meeting held on the Blood River on the 18th of October, 1877, he came to the conclusion that the Boers had right and justice on their side. He therefore so represented the case to the Natal Government and Earl Carnarvon, and stated that every beacon then standing had been erected by the Boers in the presence of the Zulu chiefs and on the spots pointed out by them. This of course gave rise to much discontent; and the subsequent acts and threats of Cetywayo caused the abandonment of the disputed territory by the Boers, who were heavy losers thereby. They considered themselves again unfairly treated by the British Government, in not having their rights granted to them and protection ensured from the threats of the Zulu king; while they themselves were prevented from taking any steps of self-protection or retaliation, but were told that if they waited patiently all would come right in the end. Thus was another pretext afforded to the Boers for widening the breach already existent and quite large enough.

Towards the end of 1878, the second Boer Deputation, consisting of Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Bok, returned from England, having been again unsuccessful in getting any satisfactory promises from the then Secretary of State for the Colonies; but having met with much kindness and sympathy from many of the English, and inhabitants of other European countries. The able, though somewhat prolix letter, written by them, in refutation of Sir T. Shepstone's annexation Proclamation and subsequent acts, will be found in Appendix D, and puts their side of the question fairly and straightforwardly before all the world. Their return to South Africa was almost coincident with Sir Bartle Frere's visit to Natal, and they had the satisfaction of a long interview and explanation with his Excellency at the Government House, Pietermaritzburg. This took place on February 4, 1879, and there were present the three deputies, his Excellency and Staff, including the Rev. Mr. Stegmann, a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church at Cape Town, an able, practical and liberal-minded man, whose presence was deemed of great value to Sir Bartle Frere in his meetings with

the Transvaal Boers. A verbatim report of this important meeting was taken at the time and published in the Colonial Press immediately afterwards; and as I shall have to refer to the proceedings thereat in another chapter, it will be unnecessary to give the account *in extenso* here. Suffice it to say that its tenor did not allay in the slightest degree the bitter feelings of discontent still slumbering in the breasts of the Transvaal Boers, and shown occasionally at meetings held in various parts of the country. Those meetings, though orderly enough in themselves, were yet productive of much evil in the existing state of affairs, and ought—if the Government had been strong enough and wise enough—in its own interests to have been put down with a strong hand from the commencement. Several large meetings were held early in 1879, and at one a mutual oath of allegiance was taken by those then present, binding them to co-operate in every way, and by any means, to obtain their freedom and recover their country.

It was at this critical time in the internal affairs of the Transvaal that Colonel Lanyon—Administrator of the Diamond Fields, or Griqualand West as it is called—was appointed to the same office and title in the Transvaal, in succession to Sir T. Shepstone, who was desirous (or had been desired) to relinquish his temporarily assumed office. Colonel Lanyon arrived at Pretoria, March 4th; and to many, even at that time, it seemed a questionable and even dangerous policy to appoint a military man, an entire stranger both to the country and people, to such an irresponsible, nay even autocratic, position as was that of an Administrator, after the repeated official promises of Sir T. Shepstone, that the Boers should be governed by their own laws and legislature under a separate form of government. Hitherto it had needed all the tact and intimate personal knowledge and friendship of Sir T. Shepstone—himself a colonist—with the assistance of the leading Boers, to prevent any actual outbreak or resort to arms on the part of the disaffected. But the return and failure of the Deputation, combined with the appointment of Colonel Lanyon to be their Governor, caused alarm, even in the minds of the most hopeful of the Boers, at the manifest and numerous signs of a coming storm, evident throughout the

Transvaal. The advent in Natal of Sir Bartle Frere, as High Commissioner, and of General Lord Chelmsford, Commanding the troops in South Africa, in order to bring Cetywayo to reason, accompanied, as they were, by a large body of troops from the Cape—just released from the Gaika and Galeka campaigns—also gave rise to a feeling of uncertainty, as to whether the military demonstration was made only for the purpose of overawing the Zulu nation. And it speaks well for the Boers, that, when war was decided upon against Cetywayo, many of them put aside their grievances for the time, and formed a gallant corps of guides and irregulars, and placed themselves under Colonel (now General Sir) Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B., then commanding a column operating in the North-west of Zululand, with his head-quarters at Utrecht, in the Transvaal. Of what service they were, and how the life of their brave leader, Piet Uys, was lost at Zlobane, every one is aware. The preliminary negotiations with Cetywayo having had no definite and satisfactory result, war was proclaimed, and our troops marched into Zululand, early in January, 1879, in four columns. Sir Bartle Frere, then leaving the future conduct of the war entirely in Lord Chelmsford's hands, left Natal at the end of March for Pretoria, with his Staff and an escort of twenty troopers of the Maritzburg Horse, which he, however, left behind at Newcastle, journeying on to Pretoria with only his Staff, and reaching there on the 10th of April.

Colonel Lanyon had been in office about a month, Sir T. Shepstone having left shortly after his arrival for England, *viâ* the Free State and Natal; while Colonel Rowlands, V.C., C.B., was appointed Commandant of the Transvaal, and had to superintend the execution of such a distribution of the troops and Volunteers as would confine Secocoeni to his own mountain, and check the border raids of Umbelini and other predatory chiefs, situated in the Utrecht, Wakkerstrom, and New Scotland Districts. This he managed as well as could be expected, with the 80th Regiment and several Volunteer corps, the 13th Regiment having been sent down from Pretoria to join Colonel Wood's column on their advance into Zululand. Previous to Sir Bartle Frere's arrival at Pretoria, the Boers had been

assembled for three weeks, in number about 4,000, and held a large meeting close to the town at Kleinfontein, on the 18th of March, which lasted a week, and during which Colonel Lanyon had gone out on one occasion to meet and confer with them. Nothing was, however, decided upon, as they wished to meet Sir Bartle Frere himself, and have a conference face to face on the subject. On the 12th, two days after Sir Bartle's arrival at Pretoria, he went alone into their large camp—notwithstanding the danger, which was represented as being very great by the officials in Pretoria—with only a few members of his Staff, and had a long personal interview with the leaders of the people, at which it was decided to send no more deputations, but to get up another memorial, and leave its transmission to England accompanied with any recommendations thereon entirely in Sir Bartle Frere's hands. The adoption of this moderate and sensible course was due solely to the sympathetic and straightforward manner of Sir Bartle himself; who, while distinctly stating that he could not give them any hope of the past being recalled, or what was done being undone, yet expressed his feeling that the Boers had many grievances, which might and ought to be redressed; and that he considered all the expectations and promises held out to them in the time of annexation had not been fulfilled. Foremost among these engagements was the gift of really representative institutions, which he then and has since advocated repeatedly and consistently up to the present time.

Sir Bartle Frere sent the memorial home, together with his views thereon, and a sketch of the constitution, which in his opinion should be granted and would be accepted by the Boers. His official connection with the Transvaal ceased entirely in June, shortly after his return to the Cape. It is only fair to him to show that, having had no voice in the matter of the annexation or any of the measures connected therewith, he could but deal simply with the state of affairs as he found them at the time of his visit, and could only act on the instructions from home, together with the oft-repeated official statements of the Government, that under no circumstances whatever could the act of annexation be revoked. I think it will be admitted

by all, including the Boers themselves, that he took a fair and liberal view of the question; and, had his views, together with Sir T. Shepstone's promises, been carried out in a spirit of conciliation by a competent official, there can be little doubt that the Transvaal would still have remained a British colony, a valuable addition to the Empire, and a united and prosperous country, and that the recent disastrous war would never have occurred.

It is perfectly true that, at the time of Colonel Lanyon's appointment, the Boers had nothing personal to say against himself or his antecedents; but the mere fact of any purely military man being placed over them in succession to Sir T. Shepstone, and at a time when none of their undoubted grievances had been redressed, must be admitted by all as a sad mistake, and one which—judging by the previous experiences of the British Government in placing military men in Civil appointments throughout South Africa, and even in America a century before—most people would naturally have thought they would have carefully avoided, at any rate, in the special and peculiar circumstances of the Transvaal and its rough but ready inhabitants at that period.

CHAPTER X.

LANYON'S TRANSVAAL.

Sir Owen Lanyon's Difficulty—Arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Finish of the Zulu War—Aylward's Memorandum to Sir Garnet—Successful Attack on Secocoeni—Dispersal of his Tribe and Surrender of Himself—Sir Garnet at Pretoria—Great Boer Meeting, December 10-17, 1879—Arrest of Pretorius and Bok—Secocoeni and Erasmus—Arrest of the latter and some Natives—Sir Garnet's Gift of a Constitution—Government Statement—Reversal of Annexation now Impossible—Ill-chosen Officials—Prohibition of Public Meetings—Apparent Calm before the Storm—Agitation Abroad—Mr. Gladstone's Statements—Boers determine to be no longer misunderstood—Resolve to pay no more Taxes—Publication of same in Dutch Papers—Arrest of Mr. J. F. Celliers, Editor of the *Volkstem*—Sir Owen Lanyon's Views in so doing—Jeppe's Official Almanac Statements.

MATTERS remained in a very unsatisfactory state during the year 1879 throughout the whole of the Transvaal; and, although the Government of Sir O. Lanyon, aided by the efforts of Mr. Kruger—who remained in office under the British rule—and Dr. Jorrissen—who also retained his office of "Staats Pro-cureur," or Attorney-General under the new *régime*—was enabled to keep things outwardly quiet; and, by the presence of a strong military force and the consequent introduction of much capital into the country, to produce a sort of favourable reaction in the financial state of affairs, aided materially by the forcible collection of overdue taxes, &c., nevertheless, it was well known that matters were not quite so rose-coloured as they appeared. The termination of the Zulu War, and the subsequent action of the British Government, were looked forward to with much anxiety by all South Africans in general, and by the Transvaalers in particular. The changing fortunes of the Zulu War, together with the numerous exciting events which occurred at that time, gave people plenty to think

about, and, even in the Transvaal, produced, *pro tem.*, a feeling of sympathy with their Natal and colonial brethren. This was added to and intensified by a decided feeling of insecurity for themselves, in the event of the Native tribes uniting in one common attack against the hated white invaders of their land.

The monotonous course of the Zulu War, varied, as it occasionally was by brilliant flashes, produced no decided effect on the position of affairs in the Transvaal, until the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley, and the return home of Lord Chelmsford. Then the people awoke to a sense of their position, and knowing of old Sir Garnet's decisive and autocratic way of dealing with things (as exhibited in Natal five years before), they dreaded his advent and looked doubtfully and despondently to the future. They had repeatedly done everything they could, in a legal and peaceable manner, to gain their point—by deputations, memorials, and the payment of taxes, under protest—and to obtain the redress of their grievances. But now, what with a military Administrator, and another still greater military High Commissioner at hand, backed up by a large military force, with no mediator whatever between themselves and the Government, who refused to treat with them directly, it was felt that unless a vigorous stand was made, or they could gain over Sir Garnet to their way of thinking, their liberties would be still farther curtailed, and the hope of eventual freedom farther off than ever. Sir Garnet Wolseley, after the capture of Cetywayo and the division of Zululand into thirteen sub-districts, sent most of the troops back to England again, and proceeded himself to the Transvaal with a small column for the subjection of Secocoeni. He reached Utrecht on September 11th, having pushed on in order to be near at hand in case of active resistance at Wesselstrom, as threatened by a party of Boers, who were to be summoned before the Landdrost, for non-payment of taxes, on the 10th of September. While there, he received an interesting, exhaustive and able communication on the state of the Transvaal from the pen of Mr. A. Aylward, whose name and position have been mentioned in some previous chapters in this work. In this statement, after drawing attention to the bitter feelings of the Boers at

the misrepresentations made about them and their motives by interested officials and speculators, and through a portion of the Cape Press, Mr. Aylward sharply criticized the stories then current about slavery and treason, and showed in what way Colonel Lanyon had lost the Boer confidence. He then proceeded to suggest that, as the Boer Committee was then in session, a Commission should be appointed, and inquiry made throughout the State, as to the grievances and wishes of *the majority*. The Commission to visit each District in turn, and Boer delegates, with their witnesses, to be allowed to appear before the Commission and give evidence. He concluded by drawing attention to the earnestness and good faith of the Boer malcontents, to their large numbers and obstinate determination to recover their independence at any cost. To this the following answer was returned, and it is a very useful indication of Sir Garnet's opinions at that period :—"Utrecht, Transvaal, September 10, 1879.—Sir,—I am directed by General Sir Garnet Wolseley to acknowledge, and to thank you, for your interesting memorandum of the 26th ultimo, on the subject of the affairs of the Transvaal territory. His Excellency desires me to inform you, in reply, that he is glad he is able to take a less gloomy view of the position of matters in the Transvaal than has been accepted by you. His Excellency's knowledge of the Dutch causes him to think very highly of their solid good sense, which he feels sure will prevent them from being led into rebellious acts by the violence of a small party of self-seeking intriguers. I have, &c., St. Leger A. Herbert, Private Secretary."

When Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Utrecht, with the 80th Regiment and two guns of the R.A., he found it garrisoned by the 2-24th Regiment and the head-quarters of the 1st Dragoon Guards. He immediately sent forward a detachment of 100 men and three officers to Wesselstrom in case of any outbreak. Nothing, however, occurred, and after a short stay in Utrecht, being warmly welcomed by the inhabitants, and having several important interviews with the leading Dutch residents, Sir Garnet left for Pretoria, which he reached on the 27th of September, and left again in October for Middleberg, where

the expedition against Secocoeni was being organized under the command of Colonel Baker Russell. It consisted of the 21st, 80th, and 94th Regiments, Mounted Infantry, a squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards, Ferreira's and Raaf's Volunteer Horse, a large Native contingent, and some Artillery. Forts Weeber and Burgers (already mentioned in connection with the previous war against Secocoeni) were made the advanced posts, with Leydenberg as the base of supplies; and all the forces were encamped there by the end of October. Considerable delay then took place in connection with supplies, convoys, and general organization, including the building of other advanced forts, &c., &c.; and things were not in complete readiness for a combined forward movement until the 20th of November. But it was not until the 23rd that active fighting was commenced by a successful attack on Umkuana's town, one of the enemy's advanced posts. This was speedily followed by the capture of successive positions, the water Koppie, Secocoeni's town, and finally of the fighting Koppie, which was the chief's stronghold. The crowning assault took place on the 28th, and was completely successful; excepting that Secocoeni escaped for a time, and managed to seek shelter in a cave some distance off. The force attacked in two columns, the former consisting of 1,800 Europeans and 2,000 Natives; the latter of 400 Europeans and 6,000 Natives. Their loss was three officers killed, five wounded, and a few non-commissioned officers and men. After the action, the fighting Koppie was completely surrounded, and in a short time over 500 natives came out and surrendered; while, a day or two after, Commandant Ferreira, with his mounted corps, succeeded in surrounding the cave where Secocoeni was hiding, about twelve miles from the stronghold, and was reinforced by the Leydenberg Mounted Rifles, Eckersley's Native contingent, and a company of Infantry. On December 2nd Secocoeni surrendered to Ferreira, who brought him to General Sir Garnet Wolseley, and he was then sent to Pretoria as a prisoner and lodged in gaol. His capture and the dispersal of his tribe, in which the Swazie contingent took such a prominent part, removed the last of the Native hindrances to the complete

internal tranquillization of the north-eastern portion of the Transvaal, and brought the active services of the troops to a quick and honourable close.

Shortly afterwards all the troops reassembled at Pretoria, then garrisoned by the 58th Regiment, where on the 10th of December Sir Garnet held a grand review and sham fight by the troops, over 3,000 in number; decorating on that occasion Captain Cecil D'Arcy, commanding Frontier Light Horse, with the well-earned Victoria Cross. This campaign against Secocoeni was finished about the same time as the Capo Colonial forces attacked and carried Moroisi's mountain in Basutoland, after making several previous attempts; which, certainly, together with the successful termination of the Zulu War, did much to restore the prestige of British supremacy in South Africa. After this, in accordance with his instructions from the Home Government, Sir Garnet Wolseley entered upon the consideration of the question of the Boer grievances, and the best method of allaying their fears, alleviating their position, and healing their wounded feelings. Where, when, and from whom he got his information I know not; but there is every reason to believe that he was unfortunate in his choice of advisers, ill-informed as to the number, nature, and reality of the Boer grievances, too hopeful of his own power of healing up difficulties, and too hasty in his conclusions and acts. It is indisputable that a very general opinion prevailed at the time among even Sir Garnet's Staff and other officials as to the undoubted necessity (from their point of view) for a despotic rule over the Transvaal, even by force of arms, if necessary. There is ample evidence to show conclusively that Sir Bartle Frere's Civil policy of conciliation and the redress of grievances, without the absolute relinquishment of the territory, was throughout totally opposed to the military-sided view of the question, taken up by Sir Garnet Wolseley, his advisers, and, I regret to say, by a large section of the British and Colonial Press.

A Boer mass meeting was held on the 10th to 17th of December, 1879, at which the people assembled together, for the third time hoisted the flag of the South African Republic,

and passed resolutions to the following effect:—That, there being no hope of recovering their independence by peaceful means, the Volksraad should be convened, and a strong form of the South African Republic should be instituted—and the people swore to co-operate for that purpose and defend their rights until death. The outcome of this was the immediate arrest of the President, M. W. Pretorius, and the Secretary, Mr. Bok. Mr. Pretorius was arrested at Potchefstrom on the 4th of January, and Mr. Bok at Pretoria on the 5th. They were both allowed out on bail of £3,000 each. They were charged with high treason; although the meeting had declared that the actual carrying out of the resolutions should be delayed until they had been communicated to the British Government by Sir G. Wolseley; and a deputation was sent to the Cape to ask for their sympathy and help, as well as to unite in preventing the confederation of all the States and Colonies in South Africa, until their grievances were redressed. Sir Garnet, however, seemed to think better of his hasty proceedings, and after a short detention Pretorius and Bok were released and their trial for high treason dropped through. The 80th Regiment, which, after being eighteen months in the Transvaal, had just left Pretoria on the 26th of December, 1879, were in Potchefstrom at the time, and were detained there in consequence of the attitude assumed by the Boers after the arrest of Pretorius and Bok. Kruger, Joubert, and S. Prinsloo were also to have been arrested, but for some reason or other the arrests did not take place.

About the same time another important link in the chain of Boer grievances occurred in this wise. After the surrender of Secocoeni and his conveyance to Pretoria gaol, he made a statement against Mr. Abel Erasmus, the leading Boer in the Leydenberg District, incriminating him for treasonable correspondence and negotiations; and for inciting Secocoeni not to submit to the Government and pay the fine imposed on him, but to fight; as the Boers were going to fight the English and turn them out of the country. Upon this statement being verified on oath before the Secretary for Native Affairs, translated, and then signed by Secocoeni, the Government issued

warrants for the apprehension of Abel Erasmus and the Native messengers. The latter were arrested and brought to Pretoria for trial, while Erasmus surrendered after a time, but every charge against him fell to the ground. Sir Garnet, however, had meanwhile somewhat unwisely denounced him as a traitor at a Pretoria banquet, causing great excitement.

In the face of these serious disturbances (though as yet no overt act of rebellion had occurred, and the people paid their taxes in most cases under protest), and of the active sympathy shown by the Cape and Orange Free State to their Dutch brethren in the Transvaal, by meetings and the getting up of memorials to the Queen, numerously signed and sent to England, Sir Garnet published his scheme for a Transvaal Government. This, however, he stated, was not to be considered as a final one, but only to last until such time as the Boers desisted from seditious practices, when a just system would be granted to them. Sir Garnet's scheme was that of an Executive Council, to consist of five official and three non-official members, and a Legislative Council, consisting of the members of the Executive Council, the Chief Justice and six non-official members. This was by no means well received or held in favourable estimation by the Boers. Moreover, the general discontent was enhanced by the arrival of intelligence from England of the positive statement made by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in answer to repeated applications from the Liberal opposition members and deputations from members of societies, &c., that "under no circumstances whatever would the Transvaal independence be restored to the Boers." An equally positive but more poetic declaration of the same sentiment was made by Sir Garnet himself, to the effect "that as long as the sun shone the Transvaal would remain British territory." Every one then felt that things must speedily come to a crisis. Thereafter followed in quick succession alleged illegalities and irregularities in connection with the ill-chosen appointments of outsiders to the various public appointments, from the judicial bench—when a Cape Colony judge, De Wet, for personal reasons best known to Sir O. Lanyon, was brought in and made Chief Justice over the

head of Judge Kotze, who had honestly served the British Government under Sir T. Shepstone's Administration—down to the minor offices. Furthermore, the imposition of railway and other taxes, ill-advised imprisonments, and high-handed proceedings in connection with the collection of taxes and other matters, all tended to increase the exasperation of the recalcitrant Boers. Then, again, the prevention of public meetings (attempted so fatally by Lord E. Somerset at the Cape in 1822) had the effect of preventing that free discussion of their grievances, so necessary to the Boers; allowing the underhand and silent workings of demagogues to assume a prominence otherwise impossible, and throwing the people blindly into the hands of a few irresponsible and rash leaders.

I may here mention that the telegraph cable was finished late in the year 1879, and on December 25th Sir Garnet telegraphed his congratulation through to Her Majesty the Queen, and received back an answer in two days, thus establishing the much-needed through communication between Great Britain and South Africa. On the 11th of January, Mr. Osborne, the Colonial Secretary, left Pretoria to take up his post as British Resident in Zululand, and was succeeded on February 17th by Mr. George Hudson, from King Williams Town, Cape Colony (the present British Resident in the Transvaal). On the 13th, an important appeal case, of Messrs. Jorrissen and Celliers, against the enforced payment of taxes, was decided by Judge Kotze, who dismissed the appeal; stating that the Act of Annexation did away with the old Volksraad, and Burgers Government, and brought the Transvaal under Imperial Legislation, and that until the laws then existing were altered by competent authority the Government was acting legally in collecting the overdue and other taxes.

As the first meeting of the New Councils was to take place in March, and as his presence was required in Natal, Sir Garnet Wolseley left Pretoria on the 22nd of January for Pietermaritzburg where he remained until February 24th, when he left again for the Transvaal—after hearing of a large Boer meeting being held near Heidelberg on February 14th and following days to consider the arrest of Bok and Pretorius and other important

matters—arriving at Pretoria four days later. During March it was decided to send out Sir G. Pomeroy Colley as Governor of and High Commissioner for S.E. Africa; and Sir Garnet Wolseley was to return home to occupy an important post at the War Office. Sir Garnet awaited the opening of his newly-created Councils, which occurred on March 10th, and on April 4th he left again on horseback, attended only by Major Stewart, the rest of the Staff coming down by the Post-cart to Natal. His official connection with the Transvaal ceased after Sir George Pomeroy Colley's arrival at Natal in July. Sir Garnet, however, did not remain in South Africa long enough to see the working of his unfortunate, but, from his point of view, well-intentioned scheme.

After the departure of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert as a deputation to the Cape, and the apparently voluntary payment of the taxes by the people, who were only thus acting under the advice of their leaders, even Sir Owen Lanyon seemed to be lulled into a sense of security, and reported monthly, both to Sir G. P. Colley, the High Commissioner, and the Home Government, the apparent subsidence of the Boer agitation, improved regard for law and order, and better payment of taxes by both black and white alike. As showing how sparsely our Natal authorities were informed as to what was going on in the Transvaal previous to the outbreak, the following remarks in a despatch from Sir George Pomeroy Colley to the Secretary of State, founded upon his reports from Sir Owen Lanyon, are significant. He wrote on the 13th of December:—"There is little news from the Transvaal. The present agitation seems principally connected with the annual tax notices. Protests have been made by armed deputations of Boers at various points against the payment of taxes, but no overt act of resistance to the law appears to have occurred except at Potchefstrom. The great meeting originally fixed for the 8th of January was suddenly and for no explained reason summoned for the 8th of December instead; but the notice was too short to allow of many attending, and I understand it has now been postponed to the 15th instant. Although large armed gatherings have taken place, and a good deal of violent

language has been used by the Boers, I still trust that we shall be able to avoid any collision; and that a patient but firm enforcement of the law will ultimately tire out these spasmodic efforts of disaffection. A wing of the 58th Regiment is now on its march to reinforce the garrison of the Transvaal; and the loyal inhabitants of Pretoria are taking measures for their own protection, and have formed a volunteer corps, 200 strong." Sir George Colley had also himself taken a tour through the Transvaal in August, 1880, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, the late Lieutenant Wilkinson, 3-60th Rifles, within a month of his appointment as Governor of Natal and High Commissioner for South-Eastern Africa. So that he had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the real state of affairs and the true condition of the country.

It is to be noted that events occurring in England had their influence on the course of events. A number of Members of Parliament had formed themselves into a committee, together with many other gentlemen, and were trying to secure the independence of the Transvaal, or, at any rate, better terms for the Boers. The agitation thus kept up in Great Britain, parts of Europe, America, and South Africa, received great assistance from the position taken up, and the statements made by the Liberal party in England, then out of office, but still commanding a powerful Opposition. So far back as 1878, Mr. Gladstone had questioned both the policy and the right of the Conservative Government, first, in annexing the Transvaal, and then in retaining it by force; when it had been clearly proved that however much the act might have been a political necessity, or to whatever extent the Government had been misinformed at the time about a majority of the inhabitants being in favour of annexation, no such majority ever did desire annexation; but that, as the real facts of the case afterwards showed, out of about 8,000 qualified Burghers, more than three-fourths were bitterly against it, and had remained so ever since.

But the Home Government remained unmoved; and, again misled by their officials in the Transvaal, they approved of all that was done, regardless of consequences.

When the people of the Transvaal, however, began to realize how their passive resistance was misunderstood and their actions misrepresented, they again met together and signed declarations that they would no longer pay taxes, either under protest or otherwise, except to the lawfully constituted Government of the South African Republic, but would exercise their rights as an independent people, and defend them with their lives; and also forbidding all Englishmen or English partisans to come upon their farms or into their houses for any reasons whatever. These resolutions, principally from the Wakkerstrom District, were published in the newspapers, one of which, *The Volkstem*, is the principal organ of the Dutch party published in Pretoria, and edited by a Mr. J. F. Celliers. This led to a criminal prosecution against the editor and proprietor for the publication of seditious writing, the Government doubtless regarding the issuing of such notices to be a rebellious and a dangerous symptom. Sir O. Lanyon, after consulting with his Attorney-General, Mr. Morcom, thought the adoption of a strong course the best; for he stated in a Proclamation issued at that time: "that under the guidance of Mr. Celliers that paper had been productive of much agitation for the reversal of the Annexation, and had kept alive the spirit of antagonism which had been existent since the assumption of Her Majesty's rule over the Transvaal." But, in the reality and widespread exhibition of this spirit of antagonism he did not apparently believe, for he further added, on the 19th of November: "Had the people been left alone, or had they been accessible to those means and sources which govern public opinion elsewhere, their own good sense and feelings of right and wrong would have prompted them to accept the change as one which has brought increased security and prosperity to their homes and country." This prosecution of Mr. Celliers was, moreover, specially insisted upon at the time as being of value—in view of the great Boer meeting to be held in December, 1879—as showing the disaffected Boers the determination and power of the new Government in putting down all such attempts now and for ever. What an ephemeral assumption of dignity and power this was has since been proved. We now know more fully and truthfully that, had it

not been for the earnest and constant endeavours of the few more moderate leaders among the Boers, an appeal would previously have been made to arms; and the allegation that there was in reality no *vox populi*, nor any general spirit of antagonism among them, has since been painfully and bitterly refuted.

The events which followed in quick succession, during the latter end of November and the beginning of December, 1879, deserve and require a chapter to themselves; but in concluding this one, I cannot do better, in justification of my own views on the subject, than give a curious extract from "The Transvaal Book Almanack and Official Directory for 1881," published in the latter end of November, 1880, in Pretoria, by Frederick Jeppe, "Government Translator and Compiler of Statistics to the Colonial Office of the Transvaal," a Government official and confidential friend of the Administrator; and one who, from his long residence in and knowledge of the Transvaal, ought assuredly to have been better informed:—"The wish for independence and self-government, encouraged and supported by designing agitators, is, however, gradually subsiding. The taxes are paid better than they were under the old Government, as will be seen by our financial statistics, published elsewhere. The Secocoeni rebellion has been quelled, the natives are made to pay taxes, labour is more plentiful, and now that all former obstacles are removed, the Transvaal enters upon a career of prosperity it has never before known, and which it never could have attained under the old *régime*. As part of the future South African Confederation, it must prosper and flourish. Great postal facilities have been instituted, and the telegraph connects us with the outer world. The railway from Delagoa Bay will soon be commenced, and its completion is only a question of time. With peace and security on our borders, a strong, liberal, and enlightened Government and Legislature to guide and rule this infant State, confidence will at once be originated, and enterprise will launch its capital, where so large and varied a field offers itself for yielding highly remunerative returns, either in mining operations for the precious metals, with which this country abounds, or in

agricultural or stock-breeding pursuits, for which this highly-favoured country is so eminently suitable." How far this sanguine vaticination has been verified or falsified has long since been shown by the subsequent course of events, now to be recorded. In other statements in this official volume the same inaccuracy or ignorance is visible in regard to historical facts. But his statistics as to the revenue, expenditure, and debt are reliable, and show clearly that, far from having progressed in a monetary sense, the Transvaal caused Great Britain a military expenditure of over two millions even up to 1880, while her own debt had increased from £295,071 at the time of annexation to £704,064 on December 31st, 1879.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OUTBREAK.

Reasons of the Great Mass Meeting—Mr. Gladstone's Speeches—The Bezuidenhou Tax Defiance Affair—Rising of Schoons Spruit Burghers—Steps of Pretoria Government—Declaration of Independence—South African Republican Flag hoisted at Heidelburg—Patrol to Potchefstrom for Issue of Proclamation—Envoy sent to Sir O. Lanyon—Letter to Commander of British Troops—Boer Proclamation and Details—Letter to Sir G. Colley—Proclamations by Sir O. Lanyon—Declaration of Martial Law—Potchefstrom Defence—General Commencement of Hostilities.

We now come to the actual cause of the outbreak in December, which otherwise would most probably not have taken place until much later, and with more and clearer warning to the Government, if we can consider, after reading the occurrences detailed in the previous chapters, that they wanted any clearer or stronger warning. After the return of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert from the Cape in November, a mass meeting of the Boers had been convened by their leaders for the 8th of January, 1881, to consider a letter addressed to them by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, immediately after the accession to power of the Liberal party, and other matters in connection with the recovery of their independence. The Boers had every reason to hope for better consideration and milder treatment from the Liberal Government than they had received from that of the Conservative party under Lord Beaconsfield, because throughout the political campaign Mr. Gladstone had repeatedly made a strong point of the conduct of South African affairs by the Conservatives.

In his first Midlothian speech, on November 25th, 1879, Mr. Gladstone said :—

"They (the Conservatives) have annexed in Africa the Transvaal territory, inhabited by a free European Christian Republican community, which they have thought proper to bring within the limits of a Monarchy, although out of 8,000 persons in that Republic qualified to vote on the subject we are told, and I have never seen the statement officially contradicted, that 6,500 protested against it. These are the circumstances under which we undertake to transform Republicans into subjects of a Monarchy."

On the next day Mr. Gladstone again declared that—

"There is no strength to be added to your country by governing the Transvaal. The Transvaal is a country where we have chosen, most unwisely, I am tempted to say insanely, to place ourselves in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a republic, and to compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse. But if that is to be done it must be done by force."

A week later he declared that the annexation of the Transvaal was the invasion of a free people. Again, on the 29th December, 1879:—

"We have undertaken to govern despotically two bodies of human beings who were never under our despotic power before, and one of them who was in the enjoyment of freedom before. We have gone into the Transvaal territory, where it appears—the statement has not been contradicted—that there were 8,000 persons in a condition of self-government, under a Republican form. Lord Carnarvon announced, as Secretary of State, that he was desirous of annexing their own territory if they were willing. They replied by signing to the number of 6,500 out of 8,000 a protest against the assumption of sovereignty over them. We have what you call 'annexed' that territory. I need not tell you there are and can be no free institutions in such a country as that. The utmost, I suppose, that could be done was to name three or four or half a dozen persons to assist the Governor. But how are they chosen? I apprehend not out of the 6,500, but they are chosen out of the small minority who were not opposed to being annexed. Is it not wonderful to those who are freemen, and whose fathers had been freemen, and who hope that their children will be freemen, and who consider that freedom is an essential condition of civil life, and that without it you can have nothing great and nothing noble in political society, that we are led by an Administration, and led, I admit, by Parliament, to find ourselves in this position, that we are to march upon another body of freemen, and against their will to subject them to despotic government?"—*Birthday Speech, 29th December*, 1879.

And lastly, on the 18th of March, 1880, when the elections were already beginning to turn against the Conservatives, and his own return to office was probable, he spoke as follows:—

"Lord Beaconsfield omitted Africa, and did not say the Radicals had created any difficulties for him there. But there he has contrived, without, so far as I am able to judge, the smallest necessity or excuse, to spend five millions of your money in invading a people (the Zulus) who had done him no wrong; and now he is obliged to spend more of your money in establishing the supremacy of the Queen over a community Protestant in religion, Hollanders in origin, vigorous, obstinate, and tenacious in character, even as we are ourselves—namely, the Dutchmen of the Transvaal."

It may be perfectly true that there is an important distinction to be drawn between the condemnation of a particular policy and course of action adopted by one Government, and the official reversal of that policy by a succeeding Government

after it has been adopted, but surely the Boers are not very much to be blamed because they failed to recognize that difference. But, from their point of view, it is not to be wondered at, if they consider that subsequent events gave them a severe though much needed lesson, which would in the future make them chary of believing in the statements or promises of any English Government whatever, and one which had done more than any other acts of any British Government of this century to lessen the belief in the will and power of a great nation, hitherto noted for its true and honourable policy, and regarded as a pattern of justice and national morality in its dealings with weaker nations.

Be this as it may, the consequence of these openly expressed views of one of England's greatest Ministers, of the encouraging sympathy shown to the Boer cause by many other nations, and of the events detailed previously in this work, was that a determined stand was made, and throughout November the people banded together to oppose the execution of the laws, and to refuse to pay the taxes. The history of the discontented Boers in the Wakkerstrom District was given in the last chapter; but we have now to deal with those of the District of Potchefstrom, among whom were a number of inhabitants of Schoons Spruit and Mooi River, who notified to their Landdrost their refusal to pay taxes or permit the processes of law then instituted for the forcible recovery thereof. In one case out of many, proceedings were taken against a Boer named Piet Bezuidenhout for overdue taxes. Judgment was given against him, and execution issued, and a waggon was attached by the sheriff's officers for sale in liquidation of the judgment and costs. The sale was fixed for a certain day in November at Potchefstrom, having been duly notified in all the papers. On that day a number of Boers (about one hundred), attended the sale, armed, under the orders of certain leaders, the principal of whom was P. A. Cronje, afterwards Commandant at Potchefstrom. They removed the waggon by force from the custody of the sheriff's officers; and after much speechifying they took the waggon away from the town and then dispersed. On the report of this occurrence to the Government at Pretoria, a re-

Rebellion in countryside - apparently spontaneous

inforcement of troops was sent to Potchefstrom, a number of special police were enrolled, and other steps taken to ensure the arrest and trial of the leaders of the recent *émeute*. The men concerned, however, again banded themselves together, and prevented the arrest of the leaders, and defied the authority of the British Government.

These tidings spread so rapidly, and matters became so serious, that Mr. Kruger and the other members of the Boer Committee found themselves carried along with the stream and unable to stem the tide of active and armed resistance. They therefore made a virtue of necessity, and summoned a mass meeting of the Boers, including the members of the old Volksraad of 1877, for the 15th of December instead of the 8th of January, as previously agreed. But, in view of the measures being taken by the Administrator and the Military authorities, of whom at that time Colonel Bellairs, the Deputy Adjutant-General in South Africa, was the head, they altered the date of the meeting to the 8th. The object was the immediate consideration of the question as to whether the leaders of the Schoons Spruit affair should be encouraged, and protected from arrest, or whether a temporizing policy would be best, in order to give the Government another chance of meeting their views peaceably. The meeting was held at Paarde Kraal, a farm situated on the eastern side of the road from Pretoria to Potchefstrom, and Mr. Hudson, the Colonial Secretary, went there to meet and confer with Kruger, who told him that it was no longer an affair of individuals but of the nation. On Monday, the 13th of December, it was definitely decided to restore the South African Republic, by force of arms if necessary; and a Triumvirate, consisting of Messrs. Paul Kruger, P. Joubert, and M. W. Pretorius, with Mr. E. Bok as Secretary, was appointed to carry on and organize a Government under the new order of things. This decision was proclaimed at Heidelberg, whither the Triumvirate and the armed Boers proceeded, on the 16th or three days afterwards. That town was made the head-quarters of the new Government and steps were immediately taken to carry out their schemes. The notices, calling the Boers together for the great meeting on the 8th, had

desired them all to come armed and provisioned; and the lukewarm and half-doubtful Boers were distinctly warned that they must either be for or against the movement for liberty, and that no one would be allowed to remain or be treated as neutral.

The Administrator, on his side, had just issued a notice that as the arrival of any number of armed men in the villages of the province for many reasons might prove dangerous and entirely unlawful and might endanger the public peace, and bearing in mind the difficulty to control such armed gatherings of people, all armed parties of people should be forbidden to approach any village in the province within a mile, or to enter the same. And on the same day that the Boers proclaimed their independence at Heidelberg, a District order was published and issued to the various garrisons at Potchefstrom and other towns in the Transvaal, by Captain Churchill, 58th Regiment, D.A.A. and Quartermaster-General, calling attention to the notice forbidding the approach of any armed body of men within a mile of any town in the province. Officers commanding stations were instructed to be guided accordingly, and having due regard to their order, never to endanger the safety of their posts through overweakening their garrison, they should endeavour to carry out the spirit of the instructions conveyed in the notice, and prevent such approach of any unauthorized hostile armed body of men. Another order provided that "During the present disturbed state of the country, seventy rounds of ammunition will be carried by each soldier, and whenever likely to become hotly engaged, and conveyance for the regimental reserve not to be at hand, thirty rounds extra will be issued and carried on the person of each man."

Two days previously to the arrival of the Triumvirate in Heidelberg, they had sent a strong patrol under Commandant P. A. Cronje, to Potchefstrom, in order to get their Proclamation printed; with distinct orders not to fire unless attacked; and with the following letter to Major Clarke, just appointed Special Commissioner at that town:—"We have the honour to inform you that the Government of the South African Republic, hereby restored, wants a certain document to be printed at once. We trust that from your side no measures

will be ordered or taken to hinder us, as it is pressing, and of the most serious importance to both parties. The publishing of this document all over the world is very likely to prevent bloodshed—at least so is our intention. Therefore it must be done, and it shall be done. We take it that, considering the seriousness of this matter, you will not make this a *casus belli*. If so, we throw the responsibility of this step on your shoulders, and take the liberty to remind you that in a very same state of affairs three years ago, when Sir Theophilus Shepstone wanted the Annexation Proclamation to be printed, the then Government of the Republic was generous enough to allow the Government printer to print the same. We are of opinion that the representative of Her Majesty the Queen will, in generosity, not be behind the President of a small Republic. At all events, we know that the civilized world, and the people of England, in this matter, will be on our side." At the same time the Triumvirate sent the following characteristic letter to the Administrator, Sir Owen Lanyon, by the hands of their appointed Diplomatic Envoy, Mr. H. Schoemann :—

"Your Excellency,—In the name of the people of the South African Republic we address ourselves to you for the performance of an earnest but imperative duty. We have the honour to enclose copy of a Proclamation, decided upon by the Government and Volksraad, and published for general notice. The will of the people is therefore clear, and requires no further explanation at our hands. We declare in the most earnest manner that we have no desire to shed blood, and that we will have no war on our part. With you therefore it rests, to necessitate us to take resource to arms in self-defence. If, which may God forbid, it should ever come so far, we shall do so with the most profound respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, and for her flag. If it should ever come so far, we shall defend ourselves with the knowledge that we fight for the honour of Her Majesty, fighting as we do for the sanctity of treaties, sworn to by her, but violated through her servants. But the time for complaining is past, and we desire only your Excellency's co-operation to arrive at a peaceful solution of the difficulty in question. From the last paragraphs

of our Proclamation, your Excellency will observe the unalterable and determined intention of the people to co-operate with the English Government in all concerning the progress of South Africa. But the only condition to arrive hereat is also comprised in the same Proclamation, clearly and explicitly explained, and provided with good reasons. In 1877 our Government handed over the keys of the Government offices without causing bloodshed; we trust that your Excellency, as representative of the noble British nation, will, in magnanimity, not be second to us, and in an equal manner enable our Government to resume its functions. We expect an answer within twice twenty-four hours.—SIGNED BY THE TRIUMVIRATE AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL."

At the same time they took steps in order to prevent, as they thought, the concentration of troops, while awaiting the decision of Sir Owen Lanyon, on the question of peace or war. And, as they had heard of the 94th Regiment being ordered down from Leydenberg to Pretoria, the following letter was forwarded to Colonel Anstruther, as well as similar ones to other commanding officers :—

"South African Republic, Heidelberg, Dec. 17, 1880.—To the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's troops on the road between Heidelberg and Pretoria.—SIR,—We have the honour to inform you that the Government of the South African Republic has taken up their residence at Heidelberg; that a diplomatic Commissioner has been sent by them with despatches to His Excellency Sir W. Owen Lanyon; that until the arrival of His Excellency's answer we don't know whether we are in a state of war or not; that consequently we cannot allow any movement of troops from your side, and wish you to stop where you are. We not being at war with Her Majesty the Queen, nor with the people of England (who we are sure would be on our side if they were acquainted with the position), but only recovering the independence of our country, we do not wish to take up arms, and therefore inform you that any movements of troops from your side will be taken by us as a declaration of war, the responsibility whereof we put upon your shoulders, as we know what we will have to do in self-defence."

The Proclamation issued by the Boer Triumvirate and printed in Potchefstrom is too lengthy a document to be inserted here and will therefore be found in Appendix E. It consists of statements of the facts in reference to 1, The occasion of its issue; 2. Copy of the Sand River Treaty; 3, The Boer rights therein given; 4, The annexation; 5, The Protests of the Executive Council and President Burgers; and 6, A lengthy recital in justification of their own subsequent acts, and their propositions for a mutual and peaceful satisfactory settlement, consisting of twenty-seven paragraphs. Copies of this Proclamation were sent off at once to Sir Owen Lanyon and Sir George Colley.

Letters explanatory of these actions and intentions were also forwarded to President Brand of the Orange Free State (on December 17th), the Hon. Mr. Sprigg, Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony, on the same date; and also to Governor and High Commissioner Sir G. Colley in Natal, under date December 20th.

After a collision had occurred between the Boers and British at Pretoria and Potchefstrom, they wrote again as follows:—

"South African Republic, Heidelberg, 20th of Dec., 1880. To His Excellency Sir Pomeroy Colley, Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Governor of Natal.—Sir,—As we had the honour to inform you, the Government of the South African Republic is restored and established at Heidelberg, the Proclamation setting forth our legal grounds, fully explaining the facts that we never have been British subjects, and a conducting letter asking Sir W. Owen Lanyon for a peaceful surrender of our State to its legitimate founders and owners, was sent to His Excellency by our diplomatic envoy on Friday the 17th. The only answer that it pleased His Excellency to our legitimate demand was the sending of attached printed Proclamation already drawn up before the arrival of our envoy. We are very sorry that neither His Excellency nor his legal advisers seem to be able to understand the real state of affairs, and still endeavour to involve the respected name of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England and the proud name of the people of England in acts of wanton cruelty and bad politics, which can only lead to a most cruel

and destructive war between fellow-colonists—a war not brought on by us, but by the sole acts of the Government in Pretoria. We beg to draw your Excellency's attention to a deliberate falsehood advanced by Sir Owen Lanyon, namely, where he is accusing us of inciting the natives of our country against Her Majesty. Your Excellency, we challenge Sir Owen Lanyon to prove this very unfair assertion, and we state as plainly as possible that the contrary is the truth. No gentleman can for a moment entertain these opinions of a people who, during the disastrous Zulu war, never for a moment flinched from the high road to neutrality, never availing themselves of the opportunity of taking their country back, because they were unwilling to spoil their good cause by using the brutal forces of uncivilized brutes. It is our firm conviction that Sir W. Owen Lanyon advances this assertion merely for the purpose of blinding the eyes of the civilized world to his own acts, as it is a fact that in the last weeks he armed Kaffirs and Hottentots to fight against the Boers. Whereas Sir W. Owen Lanyon seems now to incite to war, we appeal to you. The Lord be the judge between us and those who force us to take to arms. Already the first shot has been fired, not by us, but by some of Her Majesty's troops in Potchefstrom, and on the public road a few miles from Pretoria, we suppose by order of Sir W. Owen Lanyon."

In reply to the Proclamations and acts of the Boers, the Administrator issued a Proclamation on the 28th of December, declaring the Boers so assembled in arms to be rebels, and ordering the military to take immediate steps to put the rebellion down *vi et armis*. On the 21st he proclaimed martial law throughout the Province of the Transvaal, on receipt of the news of the Bronkhorst Spruit disaster. In Potchefstrom itself the strong garrison made every preparation in the Fort, under Colonel Winsloe, 21st Regiment; and Major Clark, with Commandant Raaff, the Landdrost Goetz, and a few soldiers and volunteers, defended themselves for two days in the Court House, but were then obliged to surrender, after the loss of one officer and some men. The town was then occupied by a large Boer force under Commandant Cronje. The details of this, the first real action in the war, and the subsequent siege

of the Fort, will be found *in extenso* in a later chapter. The second action at Bronkhorst Spruit, which occurred on the 20th of December, or four days after the declaration of Independence, and the next important event, viz., the murder of Captain Elliott, shortly afterwards, merit and need a fuller description.

Of course it will easily be understood by every one now, and doubtless admitted by the officials themselves, that if the Government was powerless to prevent the large meeting of armed men on the 8th of December, they would be equally powerless to take any active steps to quell the rebellion, but would simply have to remain on the defensive until reinforcements arrived; while the Boers would become masters of the whole country, except the few garrison towns, and thus be enabled to obtain the prestige of victors to start with, as well as the power of taking the initiative in attacking, instead of having to act purely on the defence. However, in any event, the military then in the Transvaal can neither be blamed for the course taken, nor for the part they afterwards played in the struggle. They did the best under the circumstances with the limited means at their disposal. As will be seen, in the various accounts of the sieges of Pretoria, Potchefstrom, Standerton, Wakkerstrom and Leydenberg, they fought well and gallantly against heavy odds, and added the lustre of many a brave and noble deed to their reputation as soldiers of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST ACTION.

Bronkhorst Vlei Disaster—94th leave Leydenberg—Journey to Middelberg—Detention at Oliphants River—Warnings of Boer Rising—Arrival at Bronkhorst Vlei—Narrative of Conductor (now Lieutenant) Egerton—Disaster not a Massacre—Details of Fight and Prisoners' Treatment—Sir Bartle Frere's Opinion of Prinsloo and Joubert—The Messenger's (Paul de Beer) Story—List of British Casualties—Details of Boer Force and Losses.

The news of the disaster at Bronkhorst Vlei or Spruit (Water Cress Pond), on the 20th of December, reached Pretoria on the day after; whence telegrams were sent to Natal, the Cape, and England, detailing the particulars, which, however, were hardly believed at first. Of course most exaggerated reports were quickly spread about, but the truth in all its bare entirety was soon officially made known. Then, and then only, people at length began to realize the unity, earnestness, and desperation of the Boers, instead of undervaluing the former and doubting the latter, as was done by those even high in authority. It appears that the headquarters of the 94th Regiment, which had been stationed at Leydenberg for some time, left that town in order to reinforce the garrison at Pretoria, on Sunday, December 5th, with their band, &c.; leaving Lieutenant Long to garrison the place with about fifty men. The force was composed as follows:—246 officers, non-commissioned officers and men, three women, and two children. Army Service Corps: two officers, five non-commissioned officers and men. Army Hospital Corps: three non-commissioned officers and men. Army Medical Department: one surgeon. Total, nine officers and 248 men, with thirty-four waggons. The officers accompanying were Colonel Anstruther, in command, Captains Elliott (paymaster) and

Nairne, and Lieutenants Swiney (adjutant), Harrison, and Hume, Dr. Ward, D.A.C.G. Carter, and Chief Conductor Egerton. Previous to their departure they had heard rumours of the Boers fighting, but did not believe them. The force reached Middelberg about a week after, without anything occurring *en route* worthy of notice, except that before entering the town thirty rounds of ammunition were issued to every man in the ranks. The Regiment stayed only one day in Middelberg, the band playing on the square, much to the enjoyment of the people. In consequence of the alarming rumours which were prevalent, many of the residents did not wish the Regiment to proceed, but it was not until the detachment reached the Oliphants River that any real credence was placed in those reports. While encamped on that river, which was so high as to prevent them crossing for a day, three gentlemen rode after them from Middelberg, and made a communication to Colonel Anstruther, resulting in a laager being formed with the waggons every night afterwards, and orders being issued for all the men to sleep with their arms beside them. Two days after crossing the river, a Kaffir came up to the Adjutant and told him there were Boers about, and in consequence of this orders were given that at the close of the day's march the bandsmen were to give in their instruments that night, and to take their places in the ranks, distributed between the two companies. But about one o'clock, as the band was still playing, and the Colonel and Conductor Egerton were riding a little way ahead to select a camping ground, the Boers were perceived. What occurred is best given in Conductor Egerton's own words:—

"On Sunday, the 20th of December, 1880, about 1.20 P.M., when about 1½ miles from Bronkhorst or Modder Spruit (about 38 miles from Pretoria), the band suddenly ceased playing, and on turning round to ascertain the reason, we saw about 150 Boers on the left of the road in formation, about 10 paces between each horseman, all mounted. The Boers were about 300 yards from the column, on the left flank. The Colonel galloped back, and gave the word to halt and for the rear waggons and men to close up. While he was giving these orders I saw a flag of truce approaching, and rode out to meet it, and the messenger (Paul de Beer) gave me a sealed despatch, which I handed to the Colonel. There was only one man with it and he was unarmed. The letter was in English. The Colonel read it out to me, and the purport of it was—'The

Republic having been proclaimed at Heidelberg, and the Dutch people being determined to maintain it, any movements of English troops were prejudicial to their interests, and if the Colonel advanced beyond the Spruit, they should consider it a declaration of war, and he must be responsible for the consequences.' The messenger said verbally that two minutes were allowed for the Colonel's decision. The Colonel replied his orders were to march to Pretoria, and he should go there. Each party galloped back to his own force, and no sooner had he reached than the Boers commenced firing. The men were extended in skirmishing order in front of the waggons at about four paces interval. The firing lasted about twenty minutes. The officers all fell in the first ten minutes. The Boers were standing and kneeling behind trees on some rising ground above our men. Our men were lying down on the grass. The fire of the Boers seemed to be directed on the officers, the oxen and the ammunition waggons, which were denoted by the red flag. The ammunition was in the first two waggons, and the band and the prisoners were getting out the reserve ammunition. All the officers were wounded, and I should think that between thirty and forty men were killed, and about seventy or eighty wounded. The doctor told me that in killed and wounded he had about 120. Dr. Ward was the doctor; he was not hurt. When Colonel Anstruther saw that all the officers were shot, and the men falling fast, and that there was no chance, he told them to throw up their hats and wave handkerchiefs as a signal to surrender. There were thirty-four waggons and carts in all, and the men with the waggons had not time to get up to join the main body. I heard from some ox drivers that the rear guard were taken prisoners at the commencement. They said that hundreds of Boers galloped up and took them prisoners. The convoy extended about half a mile, and the rear guard was in rear of all. They were about twenty strong. Mr. Carter, Commissariat and Transport Staff, supposed to be with the rear guard, was missing when I left. The band were, at the time of the attack, playing the last piece they were to play on the march, as they were to join the ranks on getting to camp. The Boers took off the arms and ammunition at once—three waggons—and the remainder were standing there when I left, and the Boers formed a circle round the Regiment, and Commandant Franz Joubert gave leave for the men to take what rations they pleased, and to pitch tents for the wounded, and to work the water carts. Joubert gave me permission, on the Colonel's request, to come into Pretoria for doctors and ambulances. I was to carry no weapon, and he would not give me a horse, but allowed Sergeant Bradley to accompany me. I took the colours of the 94th Regiment with me, which some of the men tore off the poles and gave to me, and I held them round my waist, under my coat. Joubert asked for the guns and colours, and I told them there were no guns, and not being in the 94th I did not know where the colours were. I believe the colours were secreted under Mrs. Fox (the wife of the sergeant-major), who was wounded. I had ridden through the bush from where the attack was made about ten minutes before the column reached the spot and saw nothing. A mounted infantry man pointed out to the Colonel what he considered to be mounted men, near the Bronkhorst Spruit, and after looking at them through the glass, the Colonel saw they were cattle, and handed the glass to me, and I looked, and am sure they were cattle. This report was made about 500 yards before the attack. The supposed mounted men reported were about twelve miles distant. The Boers were concealed in a valley on the distant side of the rising ground from which

they fired, and when I first saw them were galloping at full speed at the crest of the rising ground. I estimate that about 300 Boers attacked the head of the column. I only saw one dead and five wounded on their side, and I don't think there were any more. I believe the Boers were concealed in a farm house (Solomon Prinsloo's) behind trees (willows and poplars), and when they saw the mounted infantry returning from their reconnoitring, they galloped on up the valley before mentioned. The 94th fought remarkably well, but their fire did not seem to take effect—they did not seem to find the range, and all the officers were down. On my way in I was challenged several times, but they let me go on hearing I had a pass. The reason I was so long on the road was, I was wounded and kept off the road, so that I might not be taken with the colours."

BRITISH ordered to fire first

The gallant action of Mr. Ralph Egerton, in saving the colours of the Regiment, has been since rewarded by a commission in the 94th, and his account, given immediately after the event, has proved substantially correct; and it does him credit, as well as effectually disposes of the statements and accusations made against the Boers for murder and massacre. No doubt they took every advantage that their knowledge of the ground and intention to surprise gave them; but considering that they are not regular armed soldiers, and are certainly ignorant of European methods of fighting, I think all uninterested and unprejudiced people will give them credit for their honesty of purpose, although, perhaps, disapproving of the manner of carrying out their purposes.

Some further details of the fight and after occurrences are thus described by one of the prisoners, a bandsman, who was sent through the Orange Free State to Natal with the rest of the captured. After detailing the march from Leydenberg and the events up to the commencement of the attack, he proceeds:—

"Orders were issued for the 'band waggon' to draw up, and the bandsmen got their rifles. The Boers had now got within 200 yards, and were to be seen in flank and rear, cutting off the rear guard before anybody was aware of it; the advance guard had fallen back on the main body. The next thing I saw was a white flag, as near as possible 200 yards away, and, when this was noticed, we hoisted a signal also. The Boer with his flag and our man (Egerton) advanced, meeting about half way, but the letter he received he brought to the Colonel. The letter I heard stated 'The Boers did not know whether they were on a war footing or not, and, if we advanced further, we should have to fight for it, asking that we lay down our arms at once.' I heard the Colonel say, 'I have got my orders for Pretoria, and to Pretoria I'll go.' The Colonel then gave the order 'to extend in skirmishing order;' indeed he had hardly

time to give it before a volley was poured into us, and my comrades fell all around. We were enclosed; the Boers had cover, a sort of 'little bush' and an incline in their favour. The Boers themselves told us afterwards that they had everything arranged beforehand, the distance having been ascertained exactly. During the time the flag of truce was flying the Boers continued advancing, and had the officers and non-commissioned officers all spotted; they all fell at once. While the firing was going on, and about ten minutes from the commencement, Adjutant Harrison got up and shouted 'Fire, men, keep it up,' when a bullet struck him on the forehead dead. We kept firing for about ten minutes or so after this, but our ammunition getting short, and the Boers in front, rear, and all round at the same time, picked off our men. We knew not how, but they outnumbered us altogether. We got no time to extend, and that was the reason our men fell so quickly. The bugle sounded 'Cease firing' three times before the men heeded it, or in fact heard it. The Boers disappeared directly the flag dropped. Their fire lasted about twenty minutes, and the Colonel, who was wounded, said 'he had better leave a few men to tell the story.' The bullocks in the waggons were all over the place, dragging waggons, &c., among the wounded, dead, and dying. The Boers' fire now slackened, and they came in among us and ordered those still standing to put down their arms, pulled our helmets off, and made us 'squat down' like Kaffirs. While this was going on, I think they took away their own dead and wounded; they then made us pitch tents for the wounded. The men that were not wounded were collected, and thirty of the best were picked out by Sergeant-Major Fox to stay and look after the wounded and bury the dead, myself being one of those left behind for that purpose. Another man and Sergeant Bradley were sent off (on their asking to be allowed to proceed) to Pretoria for aid, &c. The Boers left Dr. Ward with us, who worked hard and did all he could for the sufferers. All the other prisoners were marched off to Heidelberg. The Boers searched the pockets of the dead and wounded, taking rings, watches, and everything worth taking they could lay their hands on. I saw one Boer search Mr. Carter's pockets and take his watch. All our waggons were taken away, ambulance waggons as well: only leaving us with tents, but no provisions; we only had what we managed to take out of the officers' mess and canteen after the departure of the Boers and prisoners for Heidelberg. Our party set about carrying in the wounded to the tents up to four o'clock the next morning. Adjutant Harrison was dead and Lieutenant McSwiney; Captain Nairne died during the night; Colonel Austruther and Lieutenant Hume were wounded, and still living when I left. Mrs. Fox was wounded through the lower part of her body, and was then living. Two doctors, Surgeon-Major Comerford and Civil Surgeon Crow, and two ambulances had arrived at the scene of the disaster before I left, and a few A.H.C. men. Sergeant-Major Fox, the lady's husband, was shot through the arm. I was detained four days on the spot, when I was ordered along with twenty others (leaving ten men then) off to Heidelberg. We were marched to Prinsloo's house, over the veldt, which is about two miles distance. Here we stayed a night. Next morning Commandant Prinsloo ordered us to Heidelberg, inspanned sixteen of us like bullocks to a waggon, holding the yokes, etc., the other five of us pushing the waggons; this work we were kept at for about an hour, and they cracked their whips over us and drove us like a lot of oxen. It took us three days to get to Heidelberg. On arrival there we were marched through the town and sent to the head-quarters of their Com-

mandant. The Commandant came to us and said it was 'the d——d humbugs of English Government that was trying to impose upon them.' This man wore double-glassed spectacles—blue, I think—and he spoke English like an Englishman. The first lot of prisoners that left I did not see anything of at Heidelberg—they had left before our party of twenty-one men arrived there. The Commandant said we could get away if we deserted our regiment; or would we go to Pretoria to take up arms against them? We replied we preferred going to the Free State. We were sent to the Vaal River and crossed into the Free State, and left to our fate on the veldt—they gave us nothing. We all agreed to separate and choose our own way. I managed to walk 100 miles as well as I could in my shirt-sleeves, and arrived at Harrismith, where I came across a man with a lot of horses coming to Pietermaritzburg for Government sale, and I offered my services to assist him. He accepted them, and treated me well, and we got to Pietermaritzburg Saturday morning about twelve o'clock. I overtook the first party of prisoners at Harrismith, and left them at Estcourt."

With reference to the man, S. Prinsloo, mentioned in the above extract, Sir Bartle Frere, in a letter to the *Times*, said *inter alia* :—"As far as we have yet seen, the massacre of the 94th Regiment was committed near the farm of Solomon Prinsloo and under the command of Joubert. These two were always the leaders of the violent party. Prinsloo was said to have been by his turbulence and insubordination the principal cause of Mr. Burgers' repulse from Sekukuni's stronghold in 1876. When I visited the Boer camp S. Prinsloo was said to be the leader of the party which urged the remonstrants to 'shoot or put over the border' the High Commissioner (myself) and the Administrator (Colonel Lanyon), and to haul down the British flag. Once we were assured that a party of hot-headed young men, urged by Prinsloo, had started from the camp at night with the purpose of carrying out this threat before daybreak by surprising us in the house where we slept at Pretoria. These attempts, we were told, were always overruled by the good sense and authority of Pretorius and Kruger, and by a majority of the Boer Committee. I should be slow to believe that either Pretorius or Kruger, or any but a very small minority of that Committee, would have consented to the treacherous surprise of the 94th or the murder of Captain Elliott; but it is quite possible that when blood had once been shed and the insurrection had broken out they did not see their way to repudiate the violent acts of a few of their

colleagues. I have always believed the outbreak to be principally instigated by adventurers of other than Boer descent, and to be more nearly connected than people supposed with troubles nearer home."

As a great many contradictory statements have from time to time been published about this disaster, it is only fair to give insertion to the sworn statement of the Boer bearer of the flag of truce, which shows conclusively that the above accounts are substantially the truth; and that massacre is hardly the word for the action that ensued. Other statements, made by Commandant Prinsloo and Feldt-Cornet J. M. Engelbrecht, are also corroborative of the three statements. The following is the sworn declaration :—

"I, the undersigned, Paul de Beer, hereby declare:—That on Monday, the 20th December, between the farms of Solomon Prinsloo and Vermaak, I was appointed by Commandant Joubert to act as report-carrier and interpreter between the citizens of the South African Republic and the troops of the British Government which were there. I received from said Commandant a sealed letter, the contents of which were unknown to me, to take to the Colonel in command of the troops. I also had the verbal message: That the burghers had come to prevent them from going to Pretoria, and see that they remained where they were. I carried a white flag in my hand. I rode within 100 yards. The troops stood then in rank and file, with their weapons in their hands; the drums and music ceased playing, and the bugle had been sounded to call the troops from the waggons. Within 100 yards I halted about two minutes, calling out loudly, thrice in Dutch, and thrice in English, that if there was anybody to speak to me he should come forward. Then a corporal came out towards me. I asked whether the General was there. He said yes; whereupon I told him I had a letter for the General, and desired to see him. The corporal said, 'Come to the troops, there you can speak to the General.' I replied that this was against my order, and that I was not allowed to near the troops. He rode back to the troops, returning with the Colonel and two other officers. They were on foot, and I rode fully fifty yards to meet them. I said to the Colonel, 'I have a sealed letter to hand to you,' whereupon he took it out of my hand. He asked me, 'What does this letter contain?' I answered, 'That is more than I can say; open it and read.' We spoke in English. Then I gave him my verbal message, and said that I had to take back an answer. He opened the letter. He said, 'I go to Pretoria.' I said, 'My General gives you five minutes' time to consider over the matter, and what your plan will be;' whereupon he again replied, 'I go to Pretoria, do as you like!' He seemed angry, for I greeted him friendly and he did not return it; only Captain Elliott returned the greeting. I then said, 'Do you mean war or peace?' He answered a second time, 'I go to Pretoria, do as you like.' During all this time the music played 'God Save the Queen.' Then the Colonel turned round, and I asked the third time, 'War or peace?' He gave no answer. I remained standing on the spot, and as

he was about ten yards away he called out to me: 'Take back my answer.' I rode back 100 yards at a walk, then quicker. I came to our General and gave him the answer just as the English Colonel had told me. Our burghers were all this time within 330 yards of the troops; then the order was given to advance, and they advanced within 130 yards, whereupon firing commenced. Between the time when I was told by Commandant Joubert to bring the letter addressed to the Colonel and the time I brought back the verbal answer is, according to my calculation, about thirty or forty minutes, for I had to wait long, and had a long talk, the troops having ample time, which they used to convert at least six waggons into a sort of camp, and to let the rest of the waggons come up, so that the troops behind had at least ten minutes' time to get down. According to calculation, the fight lasted ten minutes. The conversation after the fight between Commandant Joubert and the Colonel I also interpreted. Coming there we found the Colonel wounded. I said to General Joubert, 'This is the Colonel,' and to the English Colonel, 'This is my General.' Then our General greeted the Colonel. Our General ordered me to tell the Colonel that he must not be angry, as it was not his fault but that of the English Colonel. Our General then took up the letter addressed to the Colonel, and which was lying next to him. The Colonel said to me, 'Tell your General that all he did against me was honest.' The English Colonel also said, 'Bring all wounded of the burghers nearer that the doctor may bind up their wounds, for they behaved well, and are good shots.' The Colonel said, 'God be with you!' After this I started to bring a report of the fight to the camp. This is the whole truth, and declared by me under oath."

The official report of the late Colonel Anstruther and list of the killed will be found in Appendix F. The casualties numbered six officers and sixty-eight non-commissioned officers and men. The Boer losses were one man, Kieser, killed, C. Coetzee, junior, died next day, and five wounded—P. Von Minnaar, B. Roos, W. Neethling, and Gorobbelaar; and their whole force consisted of about 200 men, under Commandant Franz Joubert and Feldt-Cornet Jan Greyling. Thus ended the first action in the Transvaal War of 1880–1.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAPTAIN ELLIOTT'S MURDER—NATAL'S NEUTRALITY.

Captains Elliott and Lambart at Heidelberg—Their Departure on Parole—Murder of Elliott and Escape of Lambart—The Survivor's Official Statement—First News of Outbreak reaches Home—Boer Advance—British Camp formed at Newcastle—Sir George Colley's General Order—Meeting of British Parliament—Queen's Speech—Sir George Colley reaches Newcastle—Arrival of Mounted Infantry—Naval Brigade—Reinforcements of Drafts—Newcastle desires Neutrality—The Resident Magistrate's Letter—Commandant-General Joubert's Answer—The Triumvirate to Sir George Colley—Sir George Colley's Repudiation—Sir George Colley to Newcastle Memorialists—Home Reinforcements offered in Strength—Resolve to advance.

The excitement consequent upon the receipt of the news of the Bronkhorst Spruit disaster had hardly subsided when it was followed by the report of the murder of Captain Elliott, Paymaster of the 94th Regiment, while crossing the Orange River from the Transvaal to the Orange Free State Territory, accompanied by Captain Lambart, of the 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers. These officers had both been released upon parole not to take up arms against the Boers again during the war. Captain Elliott, who was the only officer that was not wounded at Bronkhorst Spruit, had been brought a prisoner to Heidelberg, the Boer head-quarters, along with a detachment, about forty in number, of the unfortunate 94th men. He arrived there on the 23rd, and found Captain Lambart also under detention. Captain Lambart, with Mr. McHattie, had been purchasing horses in the Orange Free State for the use of the troops at Pretoria, and was returning to Pretoria with a troop of horses by the high veldt road, so as to leave Heidelberg on one side. On the 18th of December, two days after the outbreak, they were seen by a small patrol party, and upon it being reported at head-quarters a larger detachment went off in

pursuit and came up with them. Captain Lambart and the horses were all captured and taken back to Heidelberg, while McHattie managed to escape after being fired at repeatedly.

The following official report of Captain Lambart gives the details of the murder and other particulars after that time :—

"After being there (Heidelberg) some six or seven days, I was joined by Captain and Paymaster Elliott, 94th Regiment. On the following day (the 24th of December) we received a written communication from the Secretary to the Republican Government, to the effect 'that the members of the said Government would call on us at 3.30 that day,' which they did. The purport of their interview being—'That at a meeting of Council they had decided to give us one of two alternatives: 1. To remain prisoners of war during hostilities in the Transvaal; 2. To be released on *parole d'honneur*, that we would leave the Transvaal at once, cross into the Free State under escort, and not bear arms against the Republican Government during the war.' Time being given us for deliberation, Captain Elliott and myself decided to accept No. 2 alternative, and communicated the same to the Secretary of the South African Republic, who informed us in the presence of the Commandant-General P. Joubert, that we could leave next day, taking with us all our private property. The following days being respectively Christmas Day and Sunday, we were informed that we could not start till Monday, on which day, having signed our *parole d'honneur*, my horses were harnessed and we were provided with a duplicate of our parole, or free pass, signed by Commandant-General, and escort of two men to show us the road to the nearest drift over the Vaal River, distant twenty-five (25) miles, and by which P. Joubert personally told us both we should cross, as there was a punt there. We started about 1 P.M. from the Boer camp, passing through the town of Heidelberg. After going about six to eight miles I noticed we were not going the right road, and mentioned the fact to the escort, who said it was all right. Having been 'look-out' officer in the Transvaal, I knew the district well. I was certain we were going wrong, but we had to obey orders. At nightfall we found ourselves nowhere near the river drift, and were ordered to outspan for the night; and next morning the escort told us they would look for the drift. Inspanning at daybreak we again started, but after driving about for some hours across country, I told the escort we would stop where we were, while they went to search for the drift. Shortly after they returned, and said they had found it, and we must come, which we did, eventually arriving at the junction of two rivers (Vaal and Klip), where we found the River Vaal impassable, but a small punt capable of only holding two passengers at most, by which they said we must cross. I pointed out that it was impossible to get my carriage or horses over by it, and that it was not the punt the General said we were to cross. The escort replied it was to Pretorius' Punt that the General told them to take us, and we must cross; that we must leave the carriage behind and swim the horses, which we refused to do, as we should then have had no means of getting on. I asked them to show me their written instructions, which they did (written in Dutch), and I pointed out that the name of Pretorius was not in it. I then told them they must either take us back to the Boer camp again or on to the proper drift. We turned back, and after

going a few miles the escort disappeared. Not knowing where we were, I proposed to Captain Elliott we should go to the banks of the Vaal and follow the river till we came to the proper punt. After travelling all Monday, Tuesday, and up till Wednesday about 1 P.M., when we ound ourselves about four hours or twenty-five miles from Spencer's Punt, we were suddenly stopped by two armed Boers, who handed us an official letter, which was opened and found to be from the Secretary to the Republican Government, stating 'that the members were surprised that as officers and gentlemen we had broken our *parole d'honneur* and refused to leave the Transvaal; that if we did not do so immediately by the nearest drift, which the bearers would show us, we must return as prisoners of war; that as through our ignorance of the language of the country there might be some misunderstanding, they were loth to think we had willingly broken our promise.' We explained that we should reply to the letter and request them to take it to their Government, and were prepared to go with them at once. They took us back to a farm house, where we were told to wait till they fetched their Commandant, who arrived about 6 P.M., and repeated to us the same that was contained in our letter of that day. We told him we were ready to explain matters, and requested him to take our answer back to camp. He then ordered us to start at once for the drift. I asked him, as it was then getting dark, if we could start early next morning, but he refused. So we started, he having said we should cross at Spencer's, being closest. As we left the farm house, I pointed out to him that we were going in the wrong direction, but he said never mind, come on across a drift close at hand. When we got opposite it, he kept straight on; I called to him, and said that this was where we were to cross. His reply was 'Come on.' I then said to Captain Elliott, 'They intend taking us back to Pretorius,' distant some forty miles. Suddenly the escort (which had all at once increased from two to eight men, which Captain Elliott pointed out to me, and I replied, 'I suppose they are determined we shall not escape, which they need not be afraid of, as we are too keen to get over the border),' wheeled sharp down to the river, stopped, and pointing to the banks said, 'There is the drift, cross.' Being pitch dark, with vivid lightning, the river roaring past, and as I knew impassable, I asked had we not better wait till morning, as I did not know the drift? They replied, 'No, cross at once.' I drove my horses into the river, when they immediately fell; lifted them, and drove on about five or six yards, when we fell into a hole. Got them out with difficulty, and advanced another yard, when we got stuck against a rock. The current was now so strong and drift deep my cart was turned over on to its side, and water rushed over the seat. I called out to the Commandant on the bank that we were stuck, and to send assistance, or might we return? to which he replied, 'If you do we will shoot you.' I then tried but failed to get the horses to move. Turning to Captain Elliott, who was sitting beside me, I said, 'We must swim for it,' and asked could he swim? to which he replied 'Yes.' I said, 'If you can't I will stick to you, for I can.' While we were holding this conversation a volley from the bank, ten or fifteen yards off, was fired into us, the bullets passing through the tent of my cart, one of which must have mortally wounded poor Elliott, who only uttered the single word 'Oh,' and fell headlong into the river from the carriage. I immediately sprang in after him, but was swept down the river under the current some yards. On gaining the surface of the water I could see nothing of Elliott, but I called out his name twice, but received no reply. Immediately another

volley was fired at me, making the water hiss around where the bullets struck. I now struck out for the opposite bank, which I reached with difficulty in about ten minutes; but, as it was deep, black mud, on landing I stuck fast, but eventually reached the top of the bank, and ran for about 2,000 yards under a heavy fire the whole while. The night being pitch dark, but lit up every minute by vivid flashes of lightning, showed the enemy my whereabouts. I found myself now in the Free State, but where I could not tell, but knew my direction was south, which, though it was raining, hailing, and blowing hard, and bitterly cold, an occasional glimpse of the stars showed me I was going right. I walked all that night and next day till one o'clock, when eventually I crawled into a store, kept by an Englishman, Mr. Groom, who did all in his power to help me. I had tasted no food since the previous morning at sunrise, and all the Dutch farmers refused me water, so without hat or coat (which I had left on the banks of the Vaal) and shoes worn through, I arrived exhausted at the above gentleman's place, who kindly drove me to Heilbron, where I took the post-cart to Maritzburg *viâ* Harrismith. I fear that Captain Elliott must have been killed instantly, as he never spoke, neither did I see him again. I have to mention that both Captain Elliott and myself, on being told by the South African Republican Government that the soldiers who had been taken prisoners were to be released on the same conditions as ourselves, expressed a wish to be allowed to keep charge of them, which was refused, but we were told that waggons, food, and money should be supplied to take them down country. But when they reached Spencer's Punt over the Vaal River, they were turned loose without any of the above necessaries, to find their way down country. They met an English transport-rider named Mr. F. Wheeler, who was going to Pietermaritzburg with his waggon, which had been looted by the Boers, and who kindly gave them transport, provided them with food, and is bringing them to the City, which, as I passed them at the Drakensberg on Tuesday, they should reach on Sunday next—consisting of one sergeant and sixty-one men, all that remain of the Leydenberg detachment and head-quarters of the 94th Regiment."

The first news of the outbreak in the Transvaal reached the Colonial Office in England on the 20th of December, and was in the form of a telegraphic message from Sir G. Pomeroy Colley to Earl Kimberley as follows:—"Pietermaritzburg, 19th of December.—Boers numbering about 5,000 have taken possession of Heidelberg and established Republican Government. Kruger, President; Joubert, Commandant. No collision or violence used. Communication with Pretoria cut off. I am sending up all available troops, and leave myself shortly." Then followed the news of Captain Elliott's murder and Captain Lambart's escape, and of the rapid progress of the outbreak throughout the Transvaal, hemming in the troops then stationed in the various garrison towns, which produced a perfect panic throughout South Africa. On the 3rd of January, 1881,

Sir George Colley was instructed to assume the Government of the Transvaal immediately on entering the Province, and to take the oaths of allegiance and office in the most formal manner possible, before either a judge or magistrate, if possible. Arrangements were made to bring up all the available troops to Newcastle, and reinforcements in strength were promised quickly from home and India. Meanwhile, the Boers assembled in great force near the Border, and on several occasions penetrated into Natal, capturing waggons, goods, horses, cattle, and sometimes men. But their main object was to establish themselves in strength near the rugged and circuitous frontier line between Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, where the main road to Pretoria ascends through and over the Drakensberg, so as to prevent the advance of the small force, then known to be in Natal, into the Transvaal to the relief of any of the beleaguered garrisons. With this object Commandant-General Joubert threw forward a body of Boers to Meekis, and had other large reserves forming at the rear.

Sir George Colley had issued orders for the troops then in Natal, consisting of the 58th and 3-60th Regiments, to march up to Newcastle to form an entrenched camp. On the 28th of December, in his military capacity as Commander-in-chief, he issued a general order explanatory of what had occurred, and of the manner in which steps were to be taken to re-establish Her Majesty's authority, and vindicate the honour of the British arms, and in the following terms :—

"Head-quarters, Pietermaritzburg, December 28, 1880. 1. The Major-General Commanding regrets to inform the troops of his command that a detachment of 250 men of the 94th Regiment, on its march from Leydenberg to Pretoria, was surprised and overwhelmed by the Boers—120 being killed and wounded and the rest taken prisoners. The attack seems to have been made while the troops were crossing a spruit, and extended to guard a long convoy. The Major-General trusts to the courage, spirit, and discipline of the troops of his command, to enable him promptly to retrieve this misfortune, and to vindicate the authority of Her Majesty and the honour of the British arms. It is scarcely necessary to remind soldiers of the incalculable advantage which discipline, organization, and trained skill give them over more numerous but undisciplined forces. These advantages have been repeatedly proved, and have never failed to command success in the end against greater odds and greater difficulties than we are now called on to contend with. To all

true soldiers the loss we have suffered will serve as an incentive and stimulus to greater exertions; and the Major-General knows well he can rely on the troops he has to command, to show that endurance and courage which are the proud inheritance of the British Army. The stain cast on our arms must be quickly effaced, and rebellion must be put down, but the Major-General trusts that officers and men will not allow the soldierly spirit which prompts to gallant action to degenerate into a feeling of revenge. The task now forced on us by the unprovoked action of the Boers is a painful one under any circumstances; and the General calls on all ranks to assist him in his endeavours to mitigate the suffering it must entail. We must be careful to avoid punishing the innocent for the guilty, and must remember that though misled and deluded the Boers are in the main a brave and high-spirited people, and actuated by feelings that are entitled to our respect. In the operations now about to be undertaken, the General confidently trusts that the good behaviour of the men will give him as much cause of pride and satisfaction as their conduct and gallantry before the enemy, and that the result of their efforts will be a speedy and successful termination to the war."

(Signed) A. H. Wavell,
Lieutenant-Colonel, Assistant Adjutant-General.

In addition to the 58th and 3-60th (two companies of the latter regiment, stationed at Harding, were ordered up at once), two steamers—H.M.S. *Humber* and the R.M.S. *Anglian*—fortunately arrived at Durban the day following Christmas, with large drafts, consisting of 148 men of the 58th, 91st, and 94th by the latter, while the former brought 209 officers and men for the 3-60th and 21st R.S.F., then, with the unfortunate 94th, the only two Regiments in the Transvaal. Two days afterwards, on the 27th of December, orders were given in England for the immediate despatch of the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, and the 97th Regiments as reinforcements to Natal. The 91st were then quartered at Cape Town, with detachments at Mauritius and St. Helena. A Naval Brigade was also landed from H.M.S. *Boadicea*, under Commodore Richards, R.N., and sent up at once; and Major Vesey Bromilow, of the 1st King's Dragoon Guards, got together a squadron of 150 cavalry and mounted infantry combined, and hurried up to Newcastle; while the Natal mounted police were also ordered out for active service, though not without protest from the Natal Colonists, who objected to their purely local force being used for Imperial purposes.

His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley remained at Pieter-

maritzburg in constant communication with the Home authorities until after the meeting of the British Parliament summoned by Her Majesty for the transaction of special and urgent business on January 6. Affairs in the Transvaal were referred to in the course of the customary Speech from the Throne, in the following paragraph:—"A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority; and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which I had been desirous to confer."

Subsequently, Sir George left, and arrived at Newcastle on the evening of the 11th of January, escorted by a few Natal mounted police. He found there everything in readiness at the camp, Fort Amiel, which is situated on an eminence over the river half a mile away from and commanding the town. All the disposable infantry had arrived, and the mounted troops followed on the 14th, another Naval Brigade arriving at the camp on the 19th.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Newcastle, most of them in close business connection with the Transvaal and with branch houses in that Province, were very desirous of remaining neutral in the coming struggle between the Imperial forces and the Boers; and they held meetings at which these views were agreed to, and a memorial was presented on the subject to Sir George on his arrival, steps having been previously taken by the Resident Magistrate, Mr. W. H. Beaumont, to inform Commandant General Joubert of this intention. As the correspondence which ensued was the cause of much ill-feeling at the time, and caused subsequent retaliation from the Boers, I think a brief *résumé* will be of value. The first letter from Mr. Beaumont to Joubert declared the desire for the neutrality of Natal, and was dated 5th of January, 1881. Mr. Beaumont said:—"I need hardly remind you that the quarrel of the Transvaal Boers is with the Imperial Government, that the Natal Government has, from the beginning, wished, and believed also that the Transvaal Boers wished, that the Government and

people of Natal should have nothing to do with this quarrel, and should hold a neutral position. The Government of Natal has used every endeavour to preserve this neutrality; and I may mention that the Legislative Council, with this object in view, passed a resolution that they would not vote any money either for offensive or defensive purposes, connected with the war with the Transvaal Boers. The few men of the Natal mounted police stationed here, and who are patrolling within our borders, have nothing whatever to do with the military, and were merely sent here to watch whether you should in any way violate our Border. I trust you will carefully consider what I have said, and at once show your good faith and friendly intentions by withdrawing any men within the borders of this Colony, and prohibiting any further violation of territory. I may inform you that I act as the mouthpiece of His Excellency the Governor of Natal, who will, you may be sure, deal with you in accordance with the manner in which you accede to or refuse the demand I now make." Commandant Joubert replied on January 7th:—"I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 5th inst., in which you desire to remind me that the quarrel is one between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal Boers, and that the Natal Government from the beginning has wished not to have anything to do with this quarrel. I am glad to be informed of this, and can assure you that it is in no way the intention of the people and the Government of the South African Republic to do or to show the very least hostility to the people or the Government of Natal. Any patrol sent by me had only the intention to prevent the free passing of hostile forces, as it appears to me that the Natal Government, as a neutral Government, has in this forgotten its duty, by allowing the gathering of hostile forces against the Republic, within the borders of the Natal Colony, after the friendly information from the Government of the South African Republic to the Governor of Natal."

On these facts being communicated to the Boer Head-quarters, the Triumvirate also addressed a letter on the subject to Sir George Colley, under date January 10th. After a brief reference to their former communication, its non-receipt or non-acknowledgment, they expressed their satisfaction at the complete and

entire agreement between the views of the Natal Government and their own about the neutrality of Natal, and their full concurrence with the opinion of the Resident Magistrate of Newcastle, that the Government and people of Natal had nothing to do with the quarrel. It would give, therefore, full satisfaction to everybody to hear that Commandant-General P. J. Joubert had withdrawn to their side of the boundaries. They saw with pleasure that in the Legislative Council a motion of Mr. Moor was carried, to the effect that the Colony of Natal would in no way be held responsible for the costs, or any portion of the costs, of any offensive or defensive measures as might be deemed necessary by Her Majesty's officers; and that the Resident Magistrate of Newcastle, who wrote that he acted "as the mouthpiece of His Excellency the Governor of Natal," alluding to said motion, said that this might be accepted as a proof of the endeavours to preserve neutrality. In conclusion, they said:—"We trust that from these premises we have a right, alluding (1st) to the preamble of Mr. Moor's motion—that in view of threatened hostilities between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal, and in anticipation of Natal again becoming the base of military operations (directed against us)—and (2ndly) alluding to the fact that there is at Newcastle a large military force apparently with hostile purposes against us—to ask Your Excellency earnestly whether this can be called preserving the neutrality of Natal. As far as we can understand neutrality, in accordance with the principles of international or public law, we have always held that a neutral country may not even allow the passage of any hostile force, ammunition, or horses whatever; that any country which becomes the base of military operations intended against a third State loses thereby its position of being a neutral Power; but now, after the outspoken letter of Mr. W. H. Beaumont, we feel sure that Your Excellency will be able to clear up any doubts which we might entertain upon this point."

The pertinent and embarrassing nature of the concluding sentences was, however, qualified by the prompt repudiation of

Mr. Beaumont's despatch by Sir George after his arrival at Newcastle. And a week later, after various meetings had been held in Newcastle by the inhabitants, the memorialists received their quietus as follows:—"Army Head-quarters, Fort Amiel, January 15, 1881. Sir,—I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial forwarded by you urging that Natal should be kept neutral in the contest between the Imperial troops and the Transvaal insurgents, and that the Natal mounted police should not be employed beyond the Border. In reply, I am to point out to the memorialists that neutrality as between the Queen and Queen's enemies is incompatible with the position of Natal, as a part of Her Majesty's dominions, and of its inhabitants as loyal British subjects. His Excellency therefore assumes that this request has been made in ignorance of the meaning of the terms used. At the same time, it has been, and will continue to be, his Excellency's endeavour to limit the area of disturbance as much as possible. As regards the employment of the mounted police, that force is maintained for the protection of Natal, and His Excellency is responsible for its employment, under the conditions provided for by law, in such manner as will best secure that object." Thus ended this unpleasant episode, from which Sir George Colley and Joubert alone emerged with credit and consistency, and which materially intensified the ill-will already shown by the Colonists against the Imperial Government.

On the 12th of January the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Childers, after the meeting of Parliament, and in view of the serious aspect of affairs, offered strong reinforcements of all arms from England and India, for service in the Transvaal, to be ready in ten days, which offer was gladly accepted by the General, and steps were taken accordingly to provide for their reception and transport to the scene of action. Pending their arrival Sir George Colley determined to advance from Newcastle with the small force at his disposal; at any rate, far enough to meet the Boers on the frontier, and try at least to check their further advance and daily raids, even if it should be found

impossible to proceed farther to the relief of the beleaguered garrisons, some of which were known to be short of provisions, weak for defence, and in no fit state to withstand the numerous and aggressive forces which the Boers could, and doubtless did, bring into the field.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BRITISH ADVANCE.

Inquiries on Captain Elliott's Murder—Complicity of Boer Leaders denied—Ensuing Correspondence—Finding and Burial of Captain Elliott's Body—Sir G. Colley's Ultimatum and Boer Reply—Action of British House of Commons—Relief Column at Newcastle—Sir G. Colley's Address—The Start—Mount Prospect Camp—Boer Positions—Utrecht Captured—Cape Sympathy—Petition from Holland—President Brand's Mediation—Telegrams thereon.

The murder of Captain Elliott next engaged the attention of Sir George Colley, and on the 12th of January a letter was addressed to Commandant-General Joubert on the subject, enclosing copy of a statement made by Captain Lambart, 2-21st Regiment R.S.F., of the circumstances attending the release from the Boer camp at Heidelberg and murder of Captain Elliott, 94th Regiment, in the confident belief that the Commandant would cause inquiry to be made into the circumstances of the outrage, and deal with the perpetrators according to their deserts; and offering publicity to the reply.

This elicited an immediate denial from the Boer Government, showing the steps they had at once taken upon hearing of the dastardly act; and accompanied by an emphatic protest, from their point of view, against the steps taken by Sir Owen Lanyon, and the general orders of Sir George Colley. This document, though lengthy, is too important not to be reproduced here. In acknowledging the receipt of that letter, and expressing sincere thanks for the transmission of the statement made by Captain Lambart, Mr. E. Bok, the State Secretary, said that he was ordered to express at once, and in the most emphatic way, the deep feelings of horror and disgust which the Government felt for an act so outrageous as described by Captain Lambart. It was only on the 14th

of January that some vague rumours about the horrid act reached them from the Free State, and at once the Government sent an express to Heilbron, with instructions to inquire at the Landdrost's office into the matter; so there could be no reasonable doubt that the real perpetrators of this foul act would be punished according to law. He also enclosed a translation of the instructions sent to Mr. Steyn, Landdrost of Heilbron, Orange Free State, to the following effect:—"This very moment we learn from Messrs. Botha and Willem Bester, inhabitants of the district of Harrismith, Orange Free State, that they have heard that Captain Elliott, of the 94th Regiment, who was set at liberty by us, has been shot in the river (the Vaal), in the beginning of the night. The abovenamed gentlemen tell us that statements with regard to that affair have been investigated by you. Be so kind immediately to send copies of the given statements and of your held investigation. We can assure you that if the rumours might prove to be true we look upon that act as public murder, and that we will not rest before the perpetrators have undergone their just punishment, always in the case the perpetrators are inhabitants of this State."

Finally, the communication set forth the views of the Triumvirate in these terms:—

"This Government fully agrees with His Excellency the Major-General Commanding, that it is desirable to mitigate, as far as is possible, the suffering which the ensuing war must necessarily entail, and to carry on the military operations with the humanity and amenities usual amongst civilised races; and although they are very sorry that it was only on the opportunity of a bad act committed by a few of their people, that such a desire has been expressed, they are thankful that they have it on record. It is with due respect to His Excellency that, starting from this mutual agreement about what they wish to call the main principles of an honest and noble war, they take the liberty to advance a few points and facts, and to bring them under the light of those broad principles.

"1. What is to be said about the military orders given by order of Sir W. Owen Lanyon, and instructing Her Majesty's troops to fire at the Burghers, as is fully explained in Nos. 20, 21 of the second Proclamation? 2. Does the firing, without any previous summons or warning, at the Burghers, as is amply set forth in Nos. 8 and 17 of the same Proclamation, come under cover of the humanity and amenities usual amongst civilised races? 3. Does the bombarding and shelling of an open town, occupied by women and children, as is explained more fully in the Nos. 8, 11, 28 of the same Proclamation, when it is done by the troops of Her Majesty

and under the protection of the British flag, belong to those military operations which unfortunately may become necessary, or are there good substantial grounds to call it such an outrage as scarcely even among barbarians could have been thought of? 4. What will be the verdict of an international jury about this very plain and unmistakable order of Colonel W. Bellairs:—'Keep off all armed bodies of men approaching your position, whether under cover of a flag of truce or otherwise.'—Dated Pretoria, 31st of December, 1880? 5. And about this other fact, that as 'political prisoners' at Pretoria, are kept in gaol two ladies and their whole families, babies included. 6. And also that born Africanders living in Pretoria, and not wishing to fight perhaps against their own fathers, brothers, or friends, and therefore refusing to be armed by the authorities in Pretoria, have been imprisoned and treated in a shameful manner. 7. And also that when, on the 18th of December, 1880, after the surrender of Major Clarke at Potchefstrom, our Burgher, C. Bodenstein, went up to the camp outside Potchefstrom in order to bring a letter for Major Clarke to Colonel Winsloe, quite alone, unarmed, with a clear flag of truce in his hands, on the barren veldt, his horse was shot dead under him.

"8. Let the same international jury give their verdict in the following case:—In the name, and calling himself the mouthpiece of His Excellency the Governor of Natal, the Magistrate of Newcastle addresses himself to P. Joubert, Esq., Commandant-General, &c., &c., Transvaal, requesting him to respect the neutrality of Natal, said Colony being entirely out of the quarrel between the Transvaal Boers and the Imperial Government. This happens on the 5th of January. Mr. P. J. Joubert, replying the 7th of January to said letter, states that he is very willing to respect the neutrality of Natal, but in order to do so he wishes to be informed what the meaning is of the massing of Imperial troops in Newcastle. The Republican Government, in a letter dated the 10th of January, addressed to His Excellency the Governor of Natal, enlarges on the same topic. In the meanwhile the Commander of the Republican troops withdrew his troops behind the boundaries. Well, on the 8th of January a letter was written and sent by the Resident Magistrate of Newcastle to the Commandant-General P. J. Joubert, informing him that—'Having submitted to His Excellency the Governor a copy of his letter of the 5th instant, he had been directed by him to at once inform Mr. Joubert that, with the exception of the first paragraph, he had to consider the letter as cancelled, and as having been written without the consent of the Governor.' The point at issue here, whereupon we wish to have the verdict of an international jury, is this:—Can it be called lawful warfare, to bring forward the delicate point of neutrality of a third country, forcing, by the raising of this point, one of the belligerent parties to withdraw his advanced guards from a very desirable spot, and when this succeeds to tell the same party very quietly two days afterwards that it was all nonsense? In order to enable said jury to give a true verdict upon this point it is necessary to draw their attention to the fact, that the very same man is Governor of the country which wishes to be respected as neutral, and at the same time head or chief of one of the belligerent parties. With due respect for the impartiality of the said jury, we contend that the mutual desire to mitigate the suffering which the ensuing war must necessarily entail will be frustrated by such acts showing an utter want of respect of the one belligerent party to the other.

"9. In the letter of J. C. MacGregor, Esq., it is stated that a certain general order issued by His Excellency Sir George Pomeroy Colley in his

capacity as Major-General Commanding, dated 28th of December, 1880, is a proof of His Excellency's desire to carry on the military operations 'with the humanity and amenities usual among civilised races.'

"We humbly submit those three points for further consideration:—1. Can it be said to comply with said desire, when our noble struggle is called a rebellion? and 2. When a fair fight is called an unprovoked action? and 3. The troops are told when in that fight they were conquered that a stain is cast on the British arms which must be quickly effaced. But, sir, we leave off going on in this strain. Our case is fairly and fully explained in the past history of the last three years of our country, and substantiated in both our Proclamations. We are of opinion that if what happens here in the Transvaal did happen somewhere in Europe, and if instead of the English Government being the annexing Power, Russia, Prussia, or some other reputed autocratic Power had sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone to Pretoria, killing the freedom of an independent state, the three kingdoms would ring from one end to another, from sea to sea, with a clamour of sympathy for that poor people who did dare to fight against an overwhelming Power. But, alas, we are now rebels! Why? Do we fight against our legal Government? No, sir, we do not. Although we have been explaining our case, since more than three years, we see now that it is utterly in vain. His Excellency, addressing Her Majesty's troops, gives us still bad names. Well, good or bad names cannot alter very much our position, but they may do a very great wrong. They may cause just what Sir G. Pomeroy Colley and we wish to avoid—they may raise a feeling of revenge. It is not yet too late to prevent further harm. We put the whole matter in the hands of His Excellency. At the very same moment that we, after a lapse of three years, took up again the reins of our legal Government, we offered to meet the Imperial Government in any wishes of theirs for the consolidating or confederating of the Colonies in South Africa; and we offer the same still. We did our utmost to prevent bloodshed—and how are we met? With treacherous shells at Potchefstrom, and threats of large forces gathering at Newcastle, brought over from Europe, and ready to crush us as rebels. Sir, *the General Orders* of His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley still speak of us as of a *misled* and *deluded* people, continuing thereby that most untruthful of all misrepresentations, originated in Pretoria, and which may be called the main cause of all the miseries, past and future. Perhaps, after all, we are misled and deluded. By what or by whom? By our faith in a living God, Who will be the Defender of the weak against the strong, of the oppressed against the oppressor, Who will raise a feeling of shame among the English people for the evil deeds which are perpetrated in their name in South Africa. In the name of our Lord we will fight until death. I have the honour to express the thanks of the Government for the Declaration made by you, that this reply will be published in the same way as the statement of Captain Lambart.—W. E. Bok."

While this correspondence was proceeding the body of Captain Elliott was recovered in the Vaal River by a Free State Burgher named Prinsloo, who buried it on the Free State side of the river, and gave information thereof to the authorities. Upon this, Mr. Steyn, the Landdrost of Heilbron (the nearest

town to the scene of the murder), and Dr. Vowell proceeded directly to the place and exhumed the body in order to ascertain whether it was the remains of Captain Elliott. On their arrival at the place, a medical examination was held, and four shot wounds were found on the body: one in the temple, one in the wrist, one in the leg (which was broken), and one in the middle o the back. Both the first and last were mortal, and sufficient to cause almost instantaneous death. A full description of the clothes was taken, and, on being sent down to Captain Lambart, then at Pietermaritzburg, it was recognized as corresponding in every respect with the dress worn by the deceased at the time. In the pockets were found £30 in notes, 6s. in silver, and a Victoria Cross, with the name of Private Fitzpatrick, of the 94th Regiment, which deceased was taking care of for the owner. Landdrost Steyn had a coffin made, and the body was then decently interred on the farm of Mr. Groom, who had so willingly assisted Captain Lambart on his escape.

On the 23rd of January General Colley sent an Ultimatum to the Boers, ordering them as insurgents to disperse; but without naming any time within which such steps were to be taken. This Ultimatum was communicated by Commandant-General Joubert to the Government at Heidelberg, and a characteristic reply thereto sent back with all possible despatch, dated the 29th of January :—"We beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of 23rd. In reply we beg to state that, in terms of the latter, we are unable to comply with your request, as long as Your Excellency addresses us as insurgents, and insinuates that we, the leaders, are wickedly misleading a lot of ignorant men. It is nearly hopeless for us to attempt to find the proper words for reply; but before the Lord we would not be justified if we did not avail ourselves of this, perhaps the last, opportunity of speaking to you as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen, and people of England, for whom we feel deep respect. We must emphatically repeat, we are willing to comply with any wishes of the Imperial Government tending to the consolidation and confederation of South Africa, and in order to make this offer from our side as clear and unequivocal

as possible—although we have explained this point fully in all our documents, and especially in paragraphs 36 to 38 of our first Proclamation—we declare we would be satisfied with a rescinding of the Annexation and restoration of the South African Republic under a Protectorate of Her Majesty the Queen, so that once a year the British flag shall be hoisted, all in strict accordance with the above-mentioned clauses of our first Proclamation. If Your Excellency resolves to reject this, we have only to submit to our fate; but the Lord will provide."

In England, the House of Commons, then sitting in extraordinary session, negatived a motion of Mr. Rylands, "That the Annexation of the Transvaal was impolitic and should be reversed"; and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech thereon, said that though annexation at the time might have been impolitic and undesirable, its reversal now was quite impossible. This took place on the 22nd of January (the second anniversary of Isandhlwana), and the news reached South Africa by telegraph next day.

After the despatch of the Ultimatum, Sir G. Colley held a review of all the troops at Newcastle, and addressed the forces, announcing that a relief column would start on the following day, and appealing to the valour of the troops, though inferior in numbers, to fight for the relief of the garrisons and loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal; as waiting for the reinforcements, causing at least a month's delay, would involve suffering and suspense, and probably in some cases necessitate surrender. The address was received with enthusiasm. The morning of the 24th of January, 1881, saw the departure from Newcastle camp of the small column of Her Majesty's troops that could be got together for the relief of the Transvaal. It was commanded in person by General Sir G. P. Colley, accompanied by Commodore Richards, R.N., Colonel Ashburnham, 3-60th, Colonel Deane, D.A.G., temporarily in command of the 58th Regiment, and comprised about sixty officers and 1,200 men. The exact strength of the force which moved out of Newcastle in the relief column was not known for some

time; as it was thought inexpedient to allow its paucity of numbers to become publicly known, especially as the Boers were well known to have many spies throughout the Colony of Natal, as well as active sympathisers and advisers in Pietermaritzburg.

Owing to the rain which had fallen for three days previous to the march, the column was unable to proceed far the first day. On the second they reached the Ingogo River, seeing Boer patrols a few miles distant; and on the 26th they encamped and entrenched themselves at Mount Prospect, a hilly position about three and a half miles from Lang's Nek, where a large Boer force was encamped, and easily discernible. The Boers had previously sent a large detachment to Utrecht, under Commandant Viljoen, who established himself in that town. He captured the Landdrost Rudolph, who was sent under escort as a prisoner to Heidelberg; and the other officials were sent across the Buffalo River by an armed escort, who stationed themselves on the Drift, to prevent the escape of other loyal Boers, and give notice of the passage of any British troops by that road. A few skirmishes occurred between the patrols, but with no casualties. The 27th of January was spent in inactivity, through a heavy storm of rain and thick mist, but, the weather clearing on the 28th, an advance was then made.

The course of serious events thus occurring through January, was well known all over South Africa and Europe; and earnest endeavours were made by many in order to avert further collision between British troops and the Boers, and the consequent spilling of blood. Meetings were held throughout the Cape Colony and Orange Free State, subscriptions were got up, a Red Cross society started for helping the wounded, and large quantities of provisions, arms, and ammunition were sent up through the Free State to the Transvaalers. At Cape Town, Graaff Reinet, the Paarl and other towns in the Cape Colony, large meetings were held and resolutions passed, declaring that the Transvaalers never would have taken up arms had not a fair hearing on the part of Her Majesty's advisers been refused them and their sentiments been misrepresented: that negotia-

tions be entered into, by means of a Royal Commission or Special Commissioner, with a view to bring about a condition of affairs satisfactory to all parties, otherwise to enforce Her Majesty's rule by force of arms would tend to alienate from her rule the minds of many of Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa: that it was the duty of the Cape Government and all colonists to endeavour to bring about a settlement by means of negotiation with the men calling themselves the South African Republic, instead of enforcing Her Majesty's rule at the point of the bayonet; and further, that the only solution of the difficulty would be the restoration of the independence of the Transvaal, under certain conditions, and the absolute neutrality of the South African Colonies and States.

A strong Deputation from Holland also visited England in order to obtain an interview with the British Ministry to arrange steps for the conclusion of a mutually satisfactory peace settlement with the Boers. And an appeal, printed in Dutch and English, was signed by over 7,000 Hollanders and presented to the British Parliament. The following is the principal text:—

"We, the undersigned, as Dutch citizens, have followed with deep interest the late events affecting the people of the Transvaal, our own flesh and blood by derivation; and we can no longer repress the feeling of wonder and regret experienced by us when the late Government of England resolved to deprive the Transvaal people of their national independence and subject their small territory to the Administration of the English Crown. It would be useless to detail the reasons of our wonder and regret. Many of us at the time, and especially our Prime Minister, entered an energetic protest against the Annexation of the Transvaal as an equally impolitic and unjust act. The people of the Transvaal continued to cherish the hope, and not without reason, that the wrong done them would again be made good. Still, as all these expectations have been disappointed, their patience has been exhausted, and in despair they have rushed to arms. We may lament this act of theirs, but we find it intelligible; for are their forefathers not ours also—the men who, for eighty long and grievous years, struggled for the preservation of their national independence? And shall the spirit of their ancestors be quenched among them? No, Britons, you yourselves a free people, you cannot do otherwise than sympathise with another if comparatively unimportant race, which your powerful Government, it is true, can exterminate and scatter, but which will never allow itself to be subjugated. And it is this feeling which encourages us to direct this appeal to the sense of justice of the British nation. The people of England cannot brook the dishonour which must inevitably result from a struggle that is as unequal as it is unjust, from a struggle with a powerless race, with a people who wish for nothing further than to live in peace and quiet under

their own laws. cultivating the ground that has become their own through stress and peril. And we cherish the hope that this appeal of ours will not remain wholly unattended to. We are still inclined to believe that the voice of public opinion will give a powerful support to the present Government of England in order to enable Her Majesty's Ministers to undo an act of injustice, which, to judge from the liberal professions of the Cabinet, and from its own particular views, should never have been planned and carried out."

President Brand, of the Orange Free State, ever foremost in counsel and acts for the good of South Africa, also stepped forward and tried to mediate between the Boers and the British. The following are the telegrams from His Honour and the replies from Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor and High Commissioner, Cape Town :—

"Bloemfontein, January 25.—Is it not possible to offer the Transvaal people, through the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, now in Cape Town, certain terms and conditions, provided they cease armed opposition—making it clear to them how this is to be understood?"—"Cape Town, Jan. 27. With reference to your telegram to the Secretary of State inquiring 'if it would not be possible to offer to the Transvaal people, through me, certain terms and conditions, provided they ceased armed opposition,' I am directed to inform Your Honour that, if armed opposition ceased forthwith, Her Majesty's Government would thereupon endeavour to frame such a scheme as they believe would satisfy all enlightened friends of the Transvaal country."—"Bloemfontein, Jan. 28. I read Your Excellency's telegram of yesterday with very great pleasure. Don't Your Excellency think that it will be good to inform the Transvaal people, without delay, of the contents, explaining to them what is meant by forthwith ceasing armed opposition? From the telegram published here yesterday, and dated Pietermaritzburg, it would appear that Sir Pomeroy Colley was preparing to move forward into the Transvaal; and I am afraid that, unless some effort is made to explain to the Transvaal people the contents of Your Excellency's telegram, and upon what terms they are forthwith to cease armed opposition, a further collision will take place, and the satisfactory arrangements which Her Majesty's Government contemplated may become more difficult. If Your Excellency can devise some means by which the object which Your Excellency hopes to attain can be effected at once, and the armed opposition cease, so that there is time and opportunity to make the scheme, mentioned in Your Excellency's telegram, known to them, much may be effected. I think every moment is precious. Oh! do Your Excellency's best. You will thereby earn the gratitude of the whole of South Africa. Forgive the urgency with which I express myself, but no time can now be lost."—"Cape Town, January 28. I have to thank Your Honour for your telegram of to-day, just received. I have at the same moment a telegram from Natal reporting that a battle is now taking place at Lang's Nek, between Sir George Colley's force and the Boers. I would suggest that Your Honour might give immediate and widespread publicity to your telegram to the Secretary of State, and to the reply which I yesterday transmitted to Your Honour from Her Majesty's Government."—"Bloemfontein, January

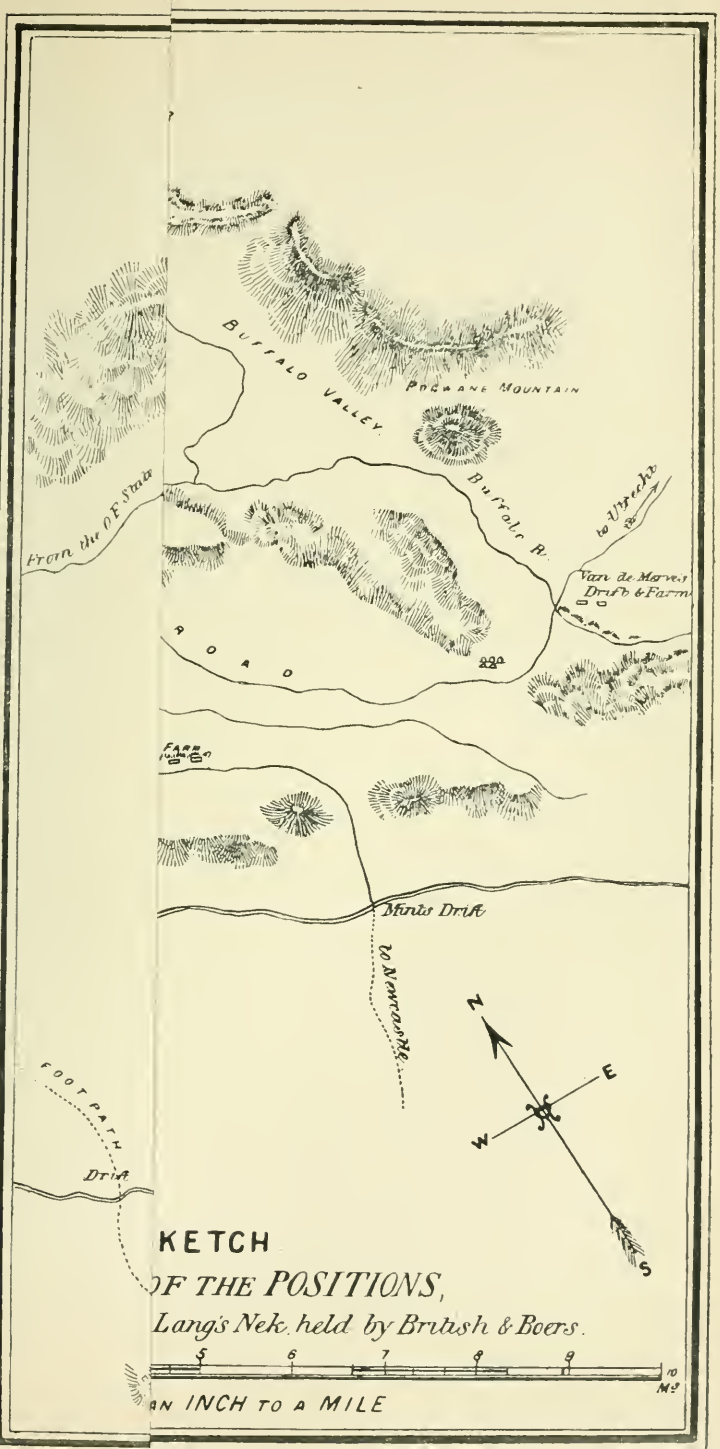
28. I am indeed very sorry to learn from Your Excellency's telegram that a battle is now taking place between Sir George Colley's force and the Transvaal people. I was in hopes that, by coming to some understanding as to the guarantees under which they would cease armed opposition, further bloodshed could have been avoided and a satisfactory settlement effected. I handed Your Excellency's telegram, which I received this morning, to the Editors of the *Friend* and the *Express* for publication, almost immediately after I received it."

CHAPTER XV.

LANG'S NEK.

Advance of Force from Mount Prospect—Arrival at the Nek—Attack arranged—Artillery Fire—Charge of the Mounted Squadron—Advance of the 58th—Gallant Attempts—Death of the Officers—Repulse of the British—Details of the Fight—Retreat to Camp—Removal of Dead—Succour of Wounded—Next Day's General Orders—Memoir of Colonel Deane and Major Poole—Prisoners' Statements—General Joubert's Report—Losses on both Sides—Arrival of Reinforcements at Durban—Sir Evelyn Wood's Appointment—2-60th, 15th Hussars, 2 Battery R.A.—83rd and 92nd from India—H.M.S. *Dido's* Naval Brigade—Message from the Queen—Richmond Road Camp—Boers in Natal—Telegrams from the General—Gunpowder and Arms ordered at the Cape by the Orange Free State—Permission refused—News from Pretoria—Communications cut off—Boers at Ingogo.

At six o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, January 28, 1881, the order for the advance of the little British force, comprising the Relief column, was given; and within half an hour everything was in readiness, and the troops started away from Mount Prospect for an attack upon Lang's Nek, where the Boers were seen to be in a position of some strength, though in what numbers was not known. The troops consisted of five companies of the 3-60th under Colonel Ashburnham; five companies of the 58th Regiment under Colonel Deane; 150 Mounted Infantry and Dragoons under Major Brownlow; seventy-five Naval Brigade with two 24lb. rockets; parts of two Batteries of Artillery, with four 9-pounders, and two 7-pounders, under Captain Greer, R.A., and about twenty Natal mounted police, with ambulances and some of the Army Hospital Corps. The entrenched camp was left in charge of a Detachment, 100 strong, of the 2-21st R.S.F., thirty Naval Brigade, with the two Gatlings, and fifty Transport and Army Service Corps men. The force advanced to the left of the road, distant about 1,000 yards, and at nine o'clock they arrived at the low


BUFFALO VALLEY
POGWANE MOUNTAIN
Buffalo R.
to Utrecht
From the O.F. State
Van de Merwe's Drift & Farm
ROAD
FARM
Mints Drift
to Newcastle
N
E
W
S
FOOT PATH
Drift
KETCH
OF THE POSITIONS,
Lang's Nek, held by British & Boers.
5
6
7
8
9
10
Ms
AN INCH TO A MILE

SKETCH
PLAN OF THE POSITIONS,
from Schuins Hooghte to Langs Nek held by British & Boers
MILES 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Chas L Norris Newman Nov 1881
3.5 THS OF AN INCH TO A MILE
BOER LAAGER
Langs Nek
Bridle Path
Road to Minto Drift
Minto Drift
INGOGO RIVER
INGOGO HOTEL
Double Drift
Main Road to the Transvaal
BUFFALO VALLEY
Buffalo R
Van de Merwe Drift & Farm
MOUNT PROSPECT
ENGLISH POSITION
Schuins Hoogte
N
E
S
W

ground at the bottom of the rise to the Nek. Here the following dispositions were made: the 60th were extended to the left, with the Naval Brigade and the two rockets, and the Natal mounted police, with ambulances in the rear; while the main attack on the spurs to the left of the Boer position (on the British right) was commenced by the guns shelling the heights and dongas, with the Cavalry in rear of them.

At ten o'clock, the 58th were ordered to advance on the hill to the right of the Nek, and the Mounted Squadron to charge a hill still more to the right (or Boer left), with the object of out-flanking the enemy. The mounted men got up first and were received with a heavy fire. The first troop, under Major Brownlow himself, charged grandly right up to the ridge which the Boers held, and in so doing Sergeant-Major Lunny shot one man dead with his revolver and wounded another before being killed in the midst of the enemy. Major Brownlow and Lieutenant Lermitte, 2-21st R.S.F., led the men magnificently, and had narrow escapes, their horses being shot under them. Lieutenant Pigott, 3-60th, attached to the 2nd troop Mounted Infantry, who was well in advance of his men, had his horse shot under him. The Squadron was, however, obliged to retire after the first volley, having half its saddles emptied, but they reformed, and with the second troop under Captain Hornby, 58th, charged again, but to no purpose; their opponents were under shelter, and the ground was in no way suitable for cavalry charges. Had the men been dismounted and allowed to creep up steadily in skirmishing order, as Mounted Infantry ought to do, the fortunes of the day might have been changed. Neither bravery nor numbers avail to enable cavalry to approach infantry, especially up steep ascents when charging against men under shelter, armed with breechloading weapons of precision.

The 58th, in the meantime, began the ascent of the steep hill and succeeded in getting half way up it without much opposition or loss. When they, however, arrived near the Boer position and were being extended, the order to charge was issued without giving breathing time to the men, who were exhausted with the hurried ascent of a gradient of one in

fifteen, and tired with the long rank wet grass clinging to their legs, and retarding their progress. Before they were able to deploy properly to the right and left a volley was poured into them from above, which shook the Regiment for a moment, and a party of Boers managed also to enfilade them on the right flank. Two minutes of this firing, answered as best it could, by the men, showed how unavailing it would be, and the order to "charge" was given by Colonel Deane, whose horse was immediately shot under him; but springing to his feet, he called to the men, "I am all right," and then fell mortally wounded with another bullet right through him. Lieutenant Inman, 3-60th, his orderly officer, was also shot dead just behind him, and Major Hingeston then took command, giving the order to "fix bayonets," and all the other officers then went well forward and encouraged their men, with such success as to drive the advanced Boers back on their supports. But finding that the enemy was being reinforced, and the enfilade on the right flank increasing, from a sudden accession of the Boers who had repulsed the cavalry attack, the order to retire was reluctantly given; but only after nearly all the Staff and officers were killed or wounded. At half-past eleven the 58th retired as best they could, being followed by a heavy fire from the Boers, which was, however, somewhat checked by a heavy artillery fire of shells directed with great precision from the guns on the right. Upon their reaching the flat, the 3-60th were then ordered to the front to cover the retreat of the 58th, after having been exposed, almost inactive, to the heavy cross fire of a party of Boers who had ensconced themselves in a bush-covered donga or ravine on the British left, and who were only driven out at last by some splendid rocket practice of the Naval Brigade. The Boers did not follow up the troops, and the Natal mounted police never came into action. Sir George Colley, evidently thinking that the Boer position was too strong and too numerously defended to be forced with the small number of men at his disposal, fell back upon the Mount Prospect camp, and there made arrangements for the burial of the dead and the succour of the wounded. Nearly all the General's Staff, including Major Poole, R.A.,

and Lieutenant Elwes, Grenadier Guards, were killed in following Colonel Deane in advance of the 58th, except Major Essex, 10th Regiment, who must be considered a fortunate man, having been one of the few that escaped from Isandhlwana.

Referring again to the details of the plucky advance of the 58th, after Major Hingeston fell, Major Poole and Lieutenant Dolphin were killed at the same time, and Captain Lovegrove, who had succeeded to the command, was also badly wounded, so that temporarily the command devolved on Lieutenant S. Jopp, whose bravery and coolness received honourable mention at the time and reward afterwards. Lieutenant Baillie, while carrying the Regimental Colours, was mortally wounded, and then Lieutenant Peel offered to assist him. "Never mind me, save the Colours," was his only and last reply, and with that Peel, who was carrying the Queen's Colours, took the other also; but on his falling into a hole, Sergeant Budstock, thinking he was shot, ran to him and took the two Colours back out of the immediate range of fire. Private Brennan, of this Regiment, was, it is thought, the only man who bayoneted a Boer. Brennan, when near the top, saw a Boer firing at a wounded soldier, and made a run at him; the Boer fired at and killed the wounded man, but before he could re-load Brennan ran him through, and with pride showed his bayonet covered with gore on his return to the camp.

After the engagement, during which Chaplain Ritchie had been most assiduously attending to the wounded, even under a heavy fire, Captain McGregor rode up to the Boer camp with a flag of truce, in order to obtain permission for the recovery of the dead and wounded. Commandant Joubert being absent, the next officer in command stated that he could only give authority to remove the men from the foot of the hill; but shortly afterwards, Joubert arrived and gave the requisite permission, even sending parties to assist, and supply the wounded with brandy and water, &c. The burial of the dead and the removal of all the wounded lasted until late in the evening of the next day. The bodies of the officers were brought back and interred with military honours at Mount Prospect camp, along with those who died from their wounds afterwards. The total

losses were seven officers killed, seventy-six non-commissioned and men, two prisoners, and 110 wounded. (*See* Appendix G. for General Colley's Official Report.) Late in the evening, after the fight, His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley had all the troops in camp drawn up and briefly addressed them, commending the brave and noble manner in which they had fought and assuming the entire blame of the repulse. The following General Order, published next day, speaks for itself:—

"Army Head-quarters, 29th of January, 1881:—The Major-General Commanding desires to thank the officers and men of the 58th Regiment, and of the Mounted Squadron, for their gallant conduct in the field yesterday. The Major-General thought it his duty to make an effort for the relief of the Transvaal garrisons, notwithstanding the smallness of the force at his disposal and the strength of the enemy's position. The effort has not been successful, but its failure reflects no discredit on the brave men who fought so nobly yesterday, and the fight made by the 58th on the hill-side will always be remembered with pride by those who took part in or witnessed it. The Major-General has to deplore the loss of many valuable lives, especially that of Colonel Deane, whose body was found on the hill ten yards in advance of the foremost man of that force which he was so proud to command—of Major Poole, R.A.; Lieutenant Elwes, Grenadier Guards; Lieutenant Inman, 60th Rifles, who were killed nobly supporting their leader in his heroic charge—of Major Hingeston, commanding the 58th Regiment, Lieutenant Baillie, and Lieutenant Dolphin, who fell while leading and encouraging their men in their devoted efforts to carry the hill—and of Troop-Sergeant-Major Lunny, K.D.G., whose gallant death, as he rode over the ridge into the midst of the enemy, was witnessed by the whole force. With the small force at his disposal, further weakened by the losses of yesterday, the Major-General cannot renew the attack until the arrival of the reinforcements, but the advance will not be long delayed, and the Major-General looks forward with assured confidence to the day when the Natal Field Force will retrieve its check of yesterday, and march into Pretoria at the head of the relieving force."

Of the many officers who fell at Lang's Nek, the two following were well known—the former at Cape Town and the latter both at the Cape and Natal: Colonel Bonar Mellet Deane was born on the 30th of September, 1834, was appointed Ensign to the 97th Foot on the 12th of March, 1853, and three days later to the 22nd Foot, of which Regiment he became a Lieutenant on November 25; Adjutant from the 6th of January, 1856, to 24th of September, 1857; Captain on 25th of September, 1857; Major on 24th of November, 1863; Lieutenant-Colonel Brevet, 29th of December, 1873, and Colonel Brevet on 29th of December, 1878. He had been Acting A.Q.M.G. at Madras; Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay from April, 1872, to June, 1875; D.A. and Q.M.G. from 2nd of August, 1880. Colonel Deane belonged to the garrison stationed at Cape Town, but, on account of the bulk of the troops being in Natal, he was sent up there soon after his landing at South Africa, and took up the duties of his appointment in that Colony. About Christmas a re-arrangement of the Staff took place, and Colonel Deane was on the point of leaving for Cape Town,

when the troubles in the Transvaal broke out, and General Colley requested that he might be allowed to remain and take command of a force. Colonel Deane had not seen any previous war service, but he had much Staff experience and was greatly liked and respected by all with whom he came into contact.—Major Joseph Ruscombe Poole, of the Royal Artillery, was born on the 27th of January, 1843, became a Lieutenant of the R.A. on the 18th of December, 1861; Captain on the 16th of January, 1875, and obtained Brevet rank on the 24th of July, 1880. The Zulu War took him to Natal, and he was the officer who escorted the captive King Cetywayo to Cape Town.

The number of the Boers was greatly exaggerated, as also was the account of their losses at the time. As describing the part taken by the British rank and file in the action, I give two accounts, taken *verbatim*, as given by the two prisoners, Sergeant Madden and Private Venables, to a Special Correspondent in the Boer camp.

"Sergeant Madden said: 'Our squadron was made up of K.D.G.'s and transport train. After the artillery had fired very much on the supposed Boer positions, we turned towards our own right to charge a sort of spur that continued the centre of the Boer position in a semicircle to their proper left. The true summit of this ridge was invisible to us as we advanced. Near to it fire fell upon us while wheeling, and before the left troop had completed its movement to bring us again in line, the order to charge was heard. In a moment we were face to face with the Boers, who fired sharp at us. The Sergeant-Major, with his revolver, got right in amongst the men, and shot one dead, wounding one with his pistol when he fell—horse and man shot down together. I saw an officer down in front of me (Lieutenant Lermitte), and was about to assist him from under his horse, when I became senseless from a fall from my shot horse, and later was aware the squadron had retired, and I was a prisoner. I have been well treated, and received the same food as the people themselves, which is of course not our style, but as they are great eaters of meat, is of a very similar character.'—Private Joseph Venables also stated: 'The 58th, after a heavy artillery fire had been supposed to have cleared the front, led by Colonel Deane, advanced against the ridge to the left of the main neck. It was a sort of neck also, but no road went over it. Our path was through the grass, and the march very exhausting. (The incline was 1 in 15.) We were in column of companies, wheeling distance. Near the position the front was extended. I belonged to the second company. We were also extended to prolong the line of fire. The advance was steadily continued, but the men were teeming from perspiration, which ran into their eyes. We got flank fire from a hollow, and half of a company was thrown back to check it, but was at once shot away, but one man standing when I saw it. Then we met the enemy almost muzzle to muzzle, with some of the guns all but crossed. I was the third from the right of my company at this moment. I reckon the force here opposed to us at eighty men. The extended companies fought very well, but the exhaustion of the men, and the deadly accuraet fire, forced them down. An immense number fell, and I was all but alone when the artillery re-opened, hurting many of our own wounded in the

attempt to check the Boers, now charging and shooting down the retreating companies. At this moment the Boers were reinforced by the company that fought with our cavalry, and the fire thickened from the flank towards the real neck. Something, I know not, from our own shell-fire—perhaps a splinter of stone—hit me in the knee, and I fainted, falling for a moment. Again the Boers were between me and the retreating companies, who were still being shot down. I would have been shot, and the guns were presented from the hollow, but a Commandant (de Klerk) saved my life. I have been well treated, and have no complaints.' "—

General Joubert's report, made to the Triumvirate at Heidelberg, is as follows:—

"Head-quarters, Jan. 28.—To Mr. S. P. J. Kruger, Vice-President.—Sir,—As I mentioned in my last, I expected an attack at any moment, and so it occurred. This morning, about seven o'clock, we were attacked in our position, and after about thirty shells had been fired over our men, the mounted (blue jackets) received orders to storm. They came so close that the powder burned each other. Though their loss was not great, they had to retreat, but then the infantry (red coats) stormed and came so near that the dead on both sides fell in amongst each other. One of the officers even fired in amongst our men with his revolver before he was shot, but then the Lord helped us. There being so few men in the field, the reinforcements I sent hither arrived just in time to assist, so that they also had to retreat. We had a very severe fight. The opportunity for the English cannon was too great, and we suffered heavily. Twenty-four of our best men were disabled. On the side of the enemy there lay ninety-five dead and wounded, and many had already been carried off before we reached there. Those who had been removed were all wounded. I believe that nearly 200 have been disabled. The cannon ceased fire, and somebody came with a flag of truce, bringing me the following note, written in pencil—'To Commandant General P. J. Joubert.—Sir,—You will do me a great service if you will allow me to send doctors to look after the wounded, who are dying in front of your position, and men to bury the dead. I have, &c., G. Pomeroy Colley.'—I hereupon replied:—'Your Excellency,—For the sake of humanity, I agree with your request, and at the termination of the battle I shall deliver up the dead. P. J. Joubert, Commandant-General.'—In the meantime a second flag of truce arrived, with a doctor, whom I allowed to go in with two men to look after the wounded. I then saw a large number of men approaching. I told them they must go back until the conclusion of the battle, or I would fire upon them. The troops then withdrew with the cannon, which had not come within our range. Perceiving this, I allowed 150 unarmed men to come and fetch their dead and wounded, naturally after taking possession of their guns and ammunition. We had to see the enemy withdraw, as it would have cost the life of many of our bravest men had we attacked [attempted?] to do more, as the locality was so entirely in favour of the English that we would have been in the very mouth of their cannon. A son of our worthy friend Dirk Uys is also amongst those mortally wounded. In haste, P. J. Joubert, Meek's Farm, Friday, Jan. 28, 1881."

From after reports and information given before me person-

ally, I have every reason to believe that the total number of Boers in action at the Nek was under 250. They were joined by a large reinforcement later on in the day, but only after the 58th had retired. Their losses were fourteen killed and twenty-seven wounded, who were removed to Meek's house, on the flat above the Nek, and were there treated by the German Missionaries, Drs. Merensky and Scholtz, and attended only by men, who, with no means or appliances, yet managed their work carefully and ably, and succeeded in allaying the pains of the wounded and nursed them with unwearied patience and kindness.

It will now be necessary to leave the British and Boer forces at their respective camps, and go back a little to the steps being taken in England to reinforce Sir G. P. Colley, and vindicate Her Majesty's authority. On the 6th of January Brigadier-General Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., K.C.B., was appointed second in command, and although he was actually senior to General Colley in Army rank, he made no difficulty whatever about it, but signified his willingness to proceed to the scene of action at once, thus making his third visit to South Africa. The appointment was a most popular one, both with Boers and British, as it was felt that his special knowledge of the Transvaal and the Boers, combined with his high military talents, would be of great service in preventing, if possible, any further fighting; and if it became unfortunately necessary to proceed to extremities, his presence would relieve Sir George Colley of his military duties; thus leaving his whole time and services free for the more important duties connected with the High Commissionership. Many special service officers were also despatched, most of whom had already seen service in South Africa. Prominent among these were, Major Barrow, 19th Hussars, who brought with him a properly organized squadron of irregular cavalry and mounted infantry force, Colonel Buller, V.C., C.B., Colonel Herbert Stewart, and many others, whose names occur farther on.

The first of the reinforcements arrived from India on January 25th, when H.M.S. *Euphrates* anchored at Durban with the 2-60th, 15th Hussars, and 3-F Battery, R.A. on board. She was followed on the 30th by H.M.S. *Crocodile*, also from

India, with the 83rd and 92nd; and the day after H.M.S. *Dido* arrived and landed a Naval Brigade of her own and some of the *Boadicea's* men, in number about sixty, with two Gatlings and two 24lb. rocket tubes. After the news of Lang's Nek, the 2-60th were hurried up from the camp at Lilliefontein—established about seven miles south of Pietermaritzburg, in a high open and healthy situation, close by the Richmond Road station of the railway from the Port to the Capital—and they left Pietermaritzburg for the front on January 30th, being preceded one day by a squadron of the 15th Hussars, and followed two days later by a detachment of the Natal mounted police, from the Ipopolela, under Sub-Inspector Jackson, and another squadron of the 15th Hussars. The 92nd were also sent up at once, and left on February 2nd for Newcastle, being followed by the Naval Brigade; while the 83rd Regiment was left at the Richmond Road camp. On the same date was received the following message of condolence from Her Majesty the Queen on learning the issue of the late battle. It showed that Her Majesty had a feeling of genuine sympathy for, and appreciation of, the efforts of her soldiers to uphold the honour of the Empire, and as such it would be considered by Colonists as well as Englishmen at Home:—"The Secretary of State for War has received and communicated to the Major-General Commanding the following message from Her Majesty:—'I am deeply grieved at the loss of so many of my brave officers and men. Major Poole is a great loss. Pray convey to Sir G. Colley the expression of my deep sorrow and anxiety for the wounded, as well as confidence.' A. H. Wavell, Lt.-Col., A.-A. General. Head-quarters, Pietermaritzburg, February 2, 1881."

It was then determined to establish a camp on the Biggarsberg, between Ladysmith and Newcastle; and to form another column there for the relief of Sir George Colley, whose position was becoming critical, being hemmed in at Mount Prospect, provisions running short, and his communication with Newcastle almost cut off. Strong parties of Boers occasionally penetrated nearly to Ladysmith, and threatened Newcastle itself from the Drakensberg and Utrecht Districts. They cut off convoys, stopped, captured, and destroyed many transport

waggons, prevented the Post-cart service from beyond Ladysmith, and rendered even the movements of troops, unless in large numbers, very difficult and dangerous. Fort Pine, an outstation of the Natal mounted police, situated close to the Buffalo River Border, and commanding the Dundee Coal District, was reinforced by a detachment of thirty Natal mounted police. On February 3rd the following official telegram was sent from the General, Natal, to the Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg: "Feb. 3rd.—All quiet. Moved the camp to fresh ground. Sent in bulk of waggons to Newcastle. Boers erecting schanzes and earthworks on hill. Telegraphic connection to camp complete." Five ambulances, with wounded, also started on the same day for the Base-Hospital at Newcastle.

H.M.S. *Tamar* was the next vessel to arrive at Durban, on the 4th of February, with the 97th Regiment on board from Halifax and Gibraltar; while, from Cape Town, ammunition and remounts for the cavalry were sent up by the *Dunkeld*, which vessel brought round Colonel Stewart, Major Clarke, and Major Fraser. Major McGregor, Staff Officer at Durban, went up to take Major Poole's place with Sir G. Colley, and Colonel Stewart succeeded him at Durban. News also arrived by telegram from the Cape that large orders for powder and ammunition from the Orange Free State had reached Port Elizabeth, but the Cape Government had refused granting the permits under present circumstances. of This step was looked upon in some quarters as an abuse authority, and as likely to lead to serious consequences if persisted in.

On February 4th and 5th the General telegraphed as follows from the camp, Mount Prospect: "February 4th.—All quiet. Heavy rains. Rivers flooded. Convoy of wounded sent into Newcastle yesterday, arrived safely.—February 5th.—News received from Lanyon, Pretoria, to 23rd of January. Town abandoned. Nearly 5,000 persons collected in entrenched laager under protection of Fort. Supplies on hand for several months. Garrison, augmented by volunteers, ample. Boers in laager all round at average distance of eight miles. Successful sortie on 16th. Boers defeated with loss. Surrender of Leydenberg garrison contradicted. Reported that Leydenberg and Rusten-

berg forts have been unsuccessfully attacked. Forts well provisioned and soldiers reinforced by local help. Marabastadt not attacked; but well prepared and provisioned. Natives loyal, but being cruelly treated." This news from Pretoria was brought by Mr. H. J. Dacombe, who pluckily rode from Kimberley there and back, accomplishing the distance of nearly 1,000 miles in thirty days. The garrison at Pretoria welcomed him, and cheered upon hearing of the reinforcements. All his horses died *en route*, and he was constantly shot at and chased by the Boers throughout the journey. He secured also, on the way, some despatches, of which a loyal Kaffir runner divested himself when chased, and brought them in with him. He brought the first information of the death of Colonel Anstruther, 4th Regiment, from his wounds received at Bronkhorst's Vlei, and also that of D. A. C. G. Carter.

On the 7th the following telegrams were received at Pietermaritzburg:—"Mount Prospect, February 7th, 4 P.M. Post bags, under small escort mounted infantry, left column to-day for Newcastle. After proceeding as far as Ingogo were fired on by force of Boers and compelled to retire back on camp with mail. No casualties, but one man missing; supposed he has got through to Newcastle. Attack on camp not expected. Wire may be cut at any moment. All communication stopped."—"Newcastle, 5.30 P.M. Boers are in force within ten miles from Newcastle. Large convoy was starting but now detained. Communication with the column is virtually cut off. From Boer scouts we learn that son of Swart Dirk Uys died of wounds in Boer camp on Sunday. Boer medical report of casualties gives fourteen killed and ten wounded. Joubert withdrew inhabitants of Utrecht District with intention of destroying homesteads by fire if defeated."—The next day, February 8th, it was determined by the General to open up communication with Newcastle, and clear the road of the Boers, at the same time protecting the mail and some ambulances which had been despatched to the Base Hospital.

CHAPTER XVI.

INGOGO FIGHT.

Sir George Colley's Attempt to re-open Communications—Ambulances stopped by Boers—March to Ingogo—Opposition at Schuin's Hooghte—Fight Commences—Details from Morning till Night—Boers charge Guns Three Times—Heavy Losses on British Side—Rain and Darkness intervene—Night Retreat of Sir George Colley's Force to Camp—Dead and Wounded left on Field—Gallant Conduct of Dr. McGann—Boers capture Gun, Limber, and Ammunition Waggons—Flag of Truce for Burial of Dead—Return of Wounded to Newcastle—Death of Lieutenant Wilkinson and Six Men—Free State Boers join—Movements of Reinforcements—2-60th, 92nd, and 15th Hussars at Ladysmith—Arrival of Sir Evelyn Wood—Transports from England to Durban—Quick Despatch of Troops—Concentration at Biggarsberg—Red Cross Societies—Further News from Pretoria and Standerton—Telegraph Wires cut—Column advance unopposed from Biggarsberg—Reach Newcastle safely—Flying Squadron at Cape—Orange Free State Volksraad—President Brand's Speech—Resolution of Raad.

The fight at Schuin's Hooghte—or, as it is now called, the Ingogo, being the name of the river which flows round the heights—took place on the 8th of February, and on a spot about half way between Newcastle and the camp at Mount Prospect. Early that day a number of Boers took possession of De Wet's house on the Newcastle side of the Ingogo, and stopped an ambulance train of five mule-waggons under Mr. Newbold Smith, a dresser who was bringing twenty wounded men from the camp to the Base Hospital. The Boers, notwithstanding that the Red Cross was flying, outspanned all the mules and drove them away, also taking the horses of Mr. Smith and his waggon conductor, and threatening any one who left the waggons with death. This occurred about 11 o'clock; but two hours previously General Colley had left the camp at Mount Prospect with five companies of the 3-60th under Colonel Ashburnham, the mountain-guns and two 9-pounder guns, under Captain Greer, and a detachment of mounted

men. Leaving one company of the 60th and the two mountain-guns on the commanding height, on the camp side of the River Ingogo, the General crossed the river with the rest of the force, throwing out vedettes and scouts in front and on the flanks. Nothing was seen of the enemy until after ascending the height on the other side of the river, when shots were exchanged by the advanced scouts. The Rifles were then extended in skirmishing order, and advanced to the top of the plateau, when the vedettes fell back, reporting presence of mounted Boers in strength on the right and left. The Special Correspondent of the *Times of Natal*, Mr. Carter, the only one present during that action, sent the following concise and able telegram after the engagement, written as the fighting progressed, and it speaks well for his nerve and courage when under fire for the first time :—

"The moment we got to the top of the hill, which has an area of flat of about four acres, we saw Boers, about 100, mounted, on ridge lower than this, 600 yards as crow flies distant. Greer's 9-pounders immediately unlimbered and let drive a couple of shells; the elevation too high to be effective. Boers immediately rushed for donga for shelter. Rifles having lined the crest of this hill, kept up smart fire. Time, 12 noon. Boers returned fire hotly and from all sides of hill, except rear. One of the 9-pounders facing right, other left, pounded away for good half-hour. Fire of Boers then slackened for ten minutes, then commenced again, kept up briskly from all sides for ten minutes. Now, 2.30, Boer fire is slackening; our artillery is not wasting ammunition. Lieutenant Parsons has just passed me, and, in answer to my hail, says he has only five gunners left. The Boers seem to direct their fire on guns. My horse shot in two places as he stood by my side, within ten minutes of first gun fired. General was within fifteen yards at the time. General and Staff coolly engaged directing operations. The bullets fly unpleasantly close, but mostly over our heads here in centre of the hill top. Boers now (2.40) round in rear, reinforced and keeping up dropping fire. 3.40 P.M., occasional shots still going on on both sides, but there is an evident lull in the fight. It is thundering heavily, and threatens rain. The two 7-pounders left near camp have not advanced, neither do we see any sign of movement of our men in that direction. Captain Greer, R.A., was killed early in the action. Lieutenant Parsons then had charge of both guns, and coolly he did his work. When the fire at the guns was hottest, he was here and there directing the fire, seeing to the moving of the guns as quietly and coolly as if on parade. Among the gunners the casualties are very heavy. There are over a dozen wounded men lying round me now taking shelter as best they can behind the dead horses and limbers. The artillerymen were not more than 500 yards distant from the Boers—so close that our men used case-shot and reverted shrapnel, which answers same purpose as case-shot. 4.15.—The firing is kept up in a desultory way, now dropping, now freshening up again. There is no knowing what the

direction is going to be next, for it seems to go all round the hill. No sign of reinforcements from the camp yet. No water is procurable, and the wounded are sadly in need of it, after being so long in the sun. We have seen small parties of Boers joining the force below us. There seems every probability of our spending the night here. I can see the camp with glasses, but cannot make out the two 7-pounders, though I can distinguish the rise they were left upon. 5.25.—The rain is beginning to fall in torrents. 5.40.—The two 7-pounders have just opened fire from the hill. The Boer fire slackens. Lieutenant Parsons has just landed a shell into some bush on our right rear with splendid effect, as the Boers skedaddled right and left out of the clump. Surgeon McGann, only surgeon in field, has been doing his duty thoroughly, and has been ably assisted by Mr. Allan McLean, Transvaal Light Horse. I have seen this gentleman dozens of times walk out to wounded men in exposed positions and help them in. 6 P.M.—White flag shown on Boer side, and order given to "cease firing," in our lines. The Boers I can see in large numbers on a flat a mile off, retreating towards their camp at the Nek, but making a detour to west of our standing camp to avoid it and our two 7-pounders. 6.10.—Occasional shots whiz over us still. 6.15.—Boers keep firing occasional shots, increasing now in number, so order given to re-open on our side. Lieutenant Parsons walks up to the gun to give orders, and is immediately wounded and walks quietly back towards the Staff as if nothing had happened. The guns recommence on our right. It is on this side firing has been since flag of truce was shown on the opposite side. Evidently the one party is unaware of what is going on in their own lines on the other side of the hill. The Rev. Mr. Ritchie goes down our left slope with white flag again in an endeavour to get the truce observed, but the firing becomes so hot again that the General calls him back. I see the Surgeon is dressing Lieutenant Parsons' right hand; his wound is not a very serious one, and the two 7-pounders have not fired a shot for the last five minutes, nor do we see anything of our reinforcements now. The gunners are nearly all down. Rifles have to help to serve the guns, but must be falling short now (6.30), as only 234 rounds were brought out. For six and a half mortal hours it has been dangerous to rise from the ground, and quite dangerous enough even when in a recumbent position. 6.40.—The two 7-pounders are opening again on the enemy away to our right flank (towards the Drakensberg); this seems the only side on which Boers are now. It is the direction in which they will retreat when it pleases them to make that move. I must say they have kept it up well, but it has been from first to last pot-shooting on both sides, except when our artillerymen were exposed, and then Boers fired in volleys at them. Major Brownlow, who is in command of mounted squadron (only forty came out with us) has been actively engaged on all sides of our plateau. I have not seen for the last hour or two either Captain MacGregor, Assistant Military Secretary, or Major Essex, of Staff. Colonel Ashburnham, who is in command of 60th, is unhurt, and continues to visit his men all round with a regularity which must be getting quite monotonous. It looks at present as if we were going to have a night of it on this hill. 7 P.M.—Our ammunition supply has not been replenished, while that of the Boers is practically inexhaustible, as they are being supplied by their men who have access to their camp. I reckon, from the fire that has been kept up on this hill at times from every point of compass at once, one thousand Boers have been engaged. 8.20.—We propose evacuating the position, and falling back on

camp under cover of darkness, leaving wounded on field. 8 A.M.—9th of February, Mount Prospect—arrived here about an hour ago after most horrid spell on foot. Impossible to regard affair other than as reverse for our side, though our men fought bravely and well—every individual. The retreat commenced about 9 P.M.; the wounded, such as were brought in (about 50) left under care of Chaplain Ritchie; no water procurable—few blankets—no other cover—rain falling all the while. We left in the lines, not brought in, I reckon, 150 killed and wounded, who cannot be attended to till this afternoon. Major Essex uninjured; Captain J. C. MacGregor killed. Flag of truce and waggons to carry dead now being sent from camp. Mr. Stuart, R.M., Interpreter, missing. In the fight yesterday 150 of our side were killed and wounded. The Boers made three successive charges at the guns, and were repulsed with grape and canister shot. It may, therefore, be assumed that their loss was heavy."

The Official Report (*see* also Appendix H) was made on the return of the General to Mount Prospect as follows, and reached Pietermaritzburg early next morning:—"General, Natal, to Colonial Secretary, Maritzburg.—Communication between this and Newcastle having been interrupted by Boers, I moved out this morning with five companies 60th, two field and two mountain-guns, and detachment mounted men, to patrol road. Leaving two mountain-guns and one company of Rifles on commanding height this side Ingogo, I crossed river with remainder of force. On rising ridge beyond Ingogo, enemy showed in considerable force. I seized plateau, and was immediately vigorously attacked on all sides by Boers, who received large reinforcements during day. Attack maintained from 12.15 P.M. till nearly six, but repulsed at all points. Boers drew off towards sunset, and I brought in force. Captain Macgregor (Staff), Captain Greer (Artillery), Lieutenants Garrett and O'Connell (60th), killed; Lieutenant Parsons, R.A., Lieutenants Pixley, Howarth (afterwards died from his wounds), and Thistlewaite (60th), wounded. About 150 men killed and wounded. Boer losses, judging by nature of attack and number of wounded seen being carried away, very heavy." And the following appeared in General Orders after the battle, and two days after the annexed message from the Queen:—"Army Head-quarters, Mount Prospect, February 9, 1881.—The Major-General desires to express his high appreciation of the conduct of the officers and men of the Royal Artillery and 3-60th Rifles in the action fought yesterday against vastly superior numbers. The Royal Artillery well sustained the

splendid reputation of that corps by the way they served their guns under a murderous fire, and brought them out of action, notwithstanding their heavy losses in men and horses; and the conduct of the 3-60th, their unflinching steadiness under fire, and the perfect order, the coolness, and the spirit with which the night march was carried out, under trying circumstances, were worthy of any veterans. The Major-General has again to deplore the loss of one of his personal Staff, Captain MacGregor, R.E., his Military Secretary, and right-hand man, whose loss the Major-General believes will be as much regretted by the force generally as it is by the General himself; of Captain Greer, R.A., who was killed at his guns, setting a noble example, worthily followed by the men under him; and of two young officers of the Rifles, Lieutenants Garrett and O'Connell, who fell in the gallant performance of their duties. The Major-General Commanding feels sure that the force engaged yesterday will join with him in specially recognizing the distinguished conduct of Lieutenant Parsons, R.A., who directed the fire of the Artillery in a most exposed position till two-thirds of his men and horses were disabled, and he was ordered to retire, and who was afterwards severely wounded while directing and refitting his guns; of Surgeon McGann, whose unremitting attention to the wounded under a heavy fire did honour to the branch of the profession he belongs to, and of Sergeant-Major Wilkins, 3-60th Rifles, who was to be seen where the fire was hottest, setting an example of cheerful, gallant, cool, and steady shooting."—" Camp, Mount Prospect, 11th of February, 1881. —The Major-General has the honour to publish to the troops under his command the following gracious Message from Her Majesty the Queen, received and communicated by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War :—'Pray express my satisfaction at the success of my brave Troops, my sorrow at so many losses, and my anxiety for the wounded.'"

The official despatch and list of casualties in this engagement will be found in Appendix H. During the afternoon the General sent back to the camp for reinforcements, and two companies of the 58th were sent out towards him, but they found Boers between themselves and the General, and

were unable to reach him in time. On the day following steps were taken to succour the wounded and bury the dead, from both Mount Prospect and Newcastle, and late that evening Mr. Smith's ambulance reached Newcastle with forty-two wounded in charge of McGann and one officer, Lieutenant Parsons, R.A.; being followed next day by twenty-six more, in charge of Surgeon Kirwin and one officer, which included all that were left on the field. Owing to the darkness and heavy rain, and the severe losses sustained by the troops, it was necessary to leave all the dead and wounded on the field of battle the same night, where, notwithstanding all drawbacks, they were assiduously tended by Surgeon McGann and Rev. Mr. Ritchie. Lieutenant Wilkinson, with a small party of ten men, also left Mount Prospect on the evening of the 14th, and took some medical supplies to the wounded on the field, but unfortunately in returning Lieutenant Wilkinson and six of the men were drowned in re-crossing the Ingogo River, which was very high and rapid. The Boers returned the next morning to the field of battle, and were surprised that the troops had been able to withdraw to their camp in the dark. They state that, had it not been for the rain and darkness, they would have cut up or captured the whole force, as well as the guns, which were their main object, as they were constantly receiving reinforcements, and had less than twenty killed and wounded. They took away two gun-limbers left on the field, and an ammunition-waggon which was deserted at the drift, and then fell back to join their main force, which was reported as advancing towards Newcastle and the Biggarsberg to prevent the reinforcements reaching there. A number of Free State Boers were also seen descending the Drakensberg, and laagered at C. Uys' Farm, in Natal territory, south-west of Newcastle, and commanding the Ingagani Drift and Ladysmith Road. The heavy rains still continued; but on the 11th, three days after the engagement, the 2-60th, Naval Brigade, and part of the 15th Hussars crossed the Klip River and marched towards the Biggarsberg, being followed on the day following by the 92nd and some more Hussars. On February 13th, a party was sent under a flag of truce from Mount Prospect to exhume and bring to the camp

the bodies of those officers who died in the fight, and who were hastily buried on the morning after. None of the enemy were seen, and flocks of vultures were the only visible things. The party returned with the bodies of Captain MacGregor, R.E., Captain Greer, R.A., Lieutenants O'Connell and Garrett, 3-60th, and Mr. Stewart, the Resident Magistrate in the Ixopo, who had accompanied General Colley at his special request as Dutch interpreter. These were all interred in the Military cemetery with the customary honours. The following satisfactory telegram was sent down in reference to the wounded :—

"From S.M.O., Newcastle, to P.M.O., Maritzburg.—Supplies ample for present wants. Will send on some to Mount Prospect when opportunity offers. No more nurses required at present. Wounded comfortably provided for. Two deaths. Surgeons remained on field on 8th until every man had been removed. Surgeon McGann mentioned in orders for gallantry on the field."

The following is the Boer version of the Ingogo fight, published in the *Staats Courant*, the Boer official paper, established and printed at Potchefstrom, and issued bi-weekly since the outbreak occurred in January :—

"Head-quarters, Wakkerstrom, February 10.—Sir,—I have arrived here through God's goodness in good health. I did not see the General at the laager. His Excellency was still at Lang's Nek. Yesterday another heavy engagement took place opposite Gogo, near Schuin's Valley, between a patrol of 252 men commanded by Commandant-General Nicholas Smidt and the British forces, directed by General Colley. As yet we have no official report, but from particulars received through the wounded who have just been brought in, we hear that through God's goodness our side has been again successful. We have, I am sorry to say, lost eight killed and six wounded, whose names we are just now not in a position to give. The fighting commenced at 11 in the morning, and ceased at 8 in the evening, when darkness and rain set in, preventing any further fighting. We have destroyed everything. There were blue jackets and mounted men present, and the following morning 205 of the enemy were found lying dead on the field, the survivors having escaped during the night with their cannon. In all probability, these have been thrown in the river by the enemy, but there is every likelihood that they will be recovered. Our people stormed the battery without much loss, owing to their shots going over our heads. The whole of the battery was destroyed; but on account of intense darkness and heavy rain our people could not take away the gun-carriages. We found the cannon gone except 'onderstel.' On the 8th of February, at midday, Colley wrote about requesting to have the killed and wounded removed, which naturally was

granted. Colley is now surrounded and cut off, and remains stationary. As soon as we receive a report of the engagement, we will make it known to the public."

Meanwhile Sir Evelyn Wood had arrived at the Cape in the *Nubian*, along with many other special service officers, and came round at once in the *Ararat*, arriving at Durban on Saturday, the 12th, proceeding the same day by special train to Pietermaritzburg, and thence by special cart on the following evening in order to catch up the Indian column at the Biggarsberg. The *Hankow* had arrived at Durban on the preceding Thursday, bringing a wing of the 6th Dragoons, Barrow's Mounted Infantry, some Artillery and Army Hospital Corps Drafts, and some special service officers. The Dragoons and Mounted Infantry were despatched at once, horses, &c., being in readiness for the Mounted Infantry, and re-mount horses having been plentifully brought round from the Cape. The *Ararat* followed on the Saturday with 7 officers, 107 men, and 11 horses (6th Dragoons), and the *Palmyra* on Sunday with 11 officers, 208 men, R.A., 143 horses, and six 9-pounders. The *Queen* was the next arrival, with the remainder of the 6th Dragoons and the draft for the 97th Regiment, consisting of 215 non-commissioned officers and men; while more reinforcements were promised from home, consisting of the 7th and 14th Hussars, two batteries of Artillery, and another battalion of infantry.

At the front the General had received (on the day following the Ingogo fight) the annexed telegram, which he forwarded to President Brand:—"Following telegram just been received from Lord Kimberley, dated 8th of February: 'Inform President Brand that if Boers cease from armed opposition Her Majesty's Government will be ready to give all reasonable guarantees after submission, and that scheme will be formed with a view to permanent friendly settlement of difficulties; and that Her Majesty's Government will be glad if President will communicate this and former messages to him to leaders of Boers.'"

I may add that Red Cross societies, in aid of the wounded, had been formed at Cape Town, Bloemfontein, and Durban, and in connection with similar societies in Great Britain and

Holland, they raised subscriptions, and sent up surgeons, with ambulances, medical stores, and comforts, to succour the wounded on both sides, if necessary; and the following telegram was received by Mr. Myburgh, Consul-General for the Netherlands at the Cape (in reply to enquiry on the subject), from General Sir G. Pomeroy Colley:—"Mount Prospect, Feb. 5.—I feel grateful to the Red Cross Society of the Hague for the assistance offered by them for the wounded. We are well provided, but I shall be glad to give passes for nurses and medical men to the Transvaal. I hope, however, that operations will be of short duration." From Pietermaritzburg also Messrs. Egner & Co. despatched three waggons containing hospital appliances and medical comforts for the sick of the Boer forces. The waggons were supplied by Umvoti farmers, to whose generous effort the Boers are indebted. Part of the supplies came from Durban, and part were procured in Maritzburg. All such appliances as stretchers were locally manufactured—Mr. Egner experiencing great difficulty in procuring the desired articles. The waggons were placed in charge of Mr. Bourse, who had recently arrived from Cape Town as the representative of the relief society formed there.

The 83rd Regiment was ordered up to the front at once on their arrival, and Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Stewart went up to succeed the late Captain MacGregor as Military Secretary to General Colley. On February 13th the road was clear from Newcastle to Mount Prospect, but large bodies of mounted Boers were seen to the south of Newcastle, proceeding towards the Biggarsberg; and seventy horses were seized by them at Adendorffs, about six miles south of the town, while all transport on the road was stopped, the Boers capturing and burning the waggons, and looting the contents. At the same date further news reached Natal from Pretoria, dated 14th of January, to the effect that a successful attack had been made on the 6th by Colonel Gildea, with 400 men, on laager on Reman's River. Boers twice fired on the troops after hoisting white flag. All well. Forts were safe and well provisioned. A report had been received from Major Montague, Standerton, dated 30th January:—They had been attacked on 29th of December, and

invested since. Had lost nine killed and wounded; raised a corps of seventy-five mounted men; and kept a circle of two miles clear, acting on the defensive. Their position safe, and they could hold out two months if necessary.

As the roads were unsafe, heliographic communication was commenced on the 14th of February with the Biggarsberg camp. General Evelyn Wood joined the first advance of reinforcements ten miles beyond Sunday's River on the 15th (Tuesday). The entire force—the 15th Hussars, the 2-60th Rifles, the 92nd Highlanders, and the Blue Jackets with two guns—marched together from the top of the Biggarsberg, eight miles towards the River Ingagani. The troops bivouacked on the ground there, and next morning crossed the river at daylight, and marched four miles further on towards Newcastle. One company of the 92nd, under Captain Robertson, was left at the River Ingagani to watch the Ferry and keep open communication, while one company of the 97th was left at the Biggarsberg, and another of the same Regiment at a spot fifteen miles beyond, together with ten mounted police at each place for despatch-riding and scouting. General Wood reached Newcastle without opposition on the morning of the 17th of February, the column arriving at mid-day. General Colley rode down from Mount Prospect to meet him. News reached them there of the arrival on the 16th, in Simon's Bay, of the Flying Squadron, consisting of the *Inconstant*, *Bacchante*—with the Prince of Wales' two sons on board—*Cleopatra*, *Carysfort*, and *Tourmaline*.

In the Orange Free State the meeting—anxiously looked forward to—of the Volksraad took place on the 18th, and the annexed extract from President Brand's speech shows clearly what he had done in seeking to arrange matters:—

"When I telegraphed, on the 6th of December, to His Excellency the Administrator of the Cape Colony that I looked upon the state of the Transvaal with extreme anxiety, and hoped that without delay means could be found to prevent the threatened outbreak, I had no notion that the outbreak which has filled the heart of every inhabitant of South Africa with grief would take place so soon. On receipt of the painful intelligence that a collision had occurred in the Transvaal, I issued, with the advice of the Executive, a proclamation in the *Government Gazette* of the 12th of January, that all burghers and inhabitants should keep them-

selves strictly from mixing in the disturbances which exist in the Transvaal, and ordered our Landdrosts, Field-cornets, and other officials to see that the proclamation was carried out. The message by cablegram from Lord Kimberley on the 8th inst. to His Excellency the Commissioner of Natal, received by me on the 9th, I sent on the same night by express to Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert. Although I sent an open letter with express rider, desiring our officials and burghers to give him every possible help, that the letter should reach its destination with the greatest speed, they could not have received it before the 12th or 13th. I hope that the telegram from the Secretary of State may open a way to find means to prevent further bloodshed, and that the plan the Secretary of State mentions, and upon which Lord Kimberley expects everlasting friendly settlement of difficulties, may appear calculated to effect the end which every one who loves South Africa so warmly wishes, and I am persuaded that you, through the friendly relations existing between ourselves, Her Majesty's Government, and the Transvaal burghers, will be prepared and ready to do all in your power to bring about a lasting and peaceful settlement of the miserable state of affairs in the Transvaal, and to work heartily towards the welfare and prosperity of South Africa."

After a discussion, lasting for four days, a neutrality resolution was carried on February 24th by a large majority of the Volksraad, notwithstanding the wishes of a noisy minority to declare war against Great Britain, and join their Transvaal brethren. The exact terms of the resolution passed by the Orange Free State Volksraad are as follows:—

"The Volksraad, with reference to paragraph 4 of Speech, regrets with His Honour that war has broken out in the Transvaal, by which so much blood has been shed; but believes, however, that—now the way appears opened to come to an amicable arrangement, that will make an end to the deplorable difficulties in our sister State, and which will be satisfactory to the wishes of the Transvaal burghers—the excitement now prevailing throughout South Africa may cease, and the heartily desired friendly relations may be re-established on all sides, and not further endangered. The Volksraad urgently and earnestly points to, and warns against, the fatal consequences which threaten the whole of South Africa that must be born out of the war now carried on by the British forces against the Transvaal citizens, for the whole white population of South Africa. Our white population is so closely allied by their bonds of relationship, their feelings and interests are so entirely alike, that the Volksraad of the Orange Free State, with an eye to the existing position of South Africa, considers it its duty to express the wish that Her Britannic Majesty's Government will be willing to concede the just demands of the Transvaal burghers. The Volksraad thanks his Honour heartily for the friendly endeavours to have peace restored among the belligerent parties, and hopes that these endeavours will be crowned with the best results."

CHAPTER XVII.

MY JOURNEY.

My Appointment as "Special" to the Boer Camp—Letter to General Colley—His Reply—Change of Plans necessary—Aylward's Position and Steps—His First Letter from the Boer Camp—His After Adventures—I leave Pietermaritzburg for Harrismith—On the Road—Arrival in Orange Free State—First Impressions—Feeling in the Free State—Town Talk—Mr. Raaff and Landdrost De Villiers—Orange Free State Volksraad—My Border Journey—Interview with Nel and Bugler Field—Return to Harrismith—Impossibility of Travelling—Wet Weather—News of Amajuba—President Brand as Mediator—Red Cross Party from the Cape—My Resolve.

The history of Transvaal affairs being thus brought down to the arrival of General Wood at Newcastle with the relief column, and the retirement of the Boer forces to their positions beyond the Berg, the relation of my own personal experiences during the short campaign more properly commences; and will be followed by the concurrent events up to and including the fatal fight at the Amajuba, in due course. At that time I had already made all the necessary arrangements, immediately after the receipt of the news of the Bronkhorst Viei disaster, for my journey to, and reception at, the Boer Head-quarters. Considering that few other "Specials" could obtain the requisite permission, or might be willing to go, I had myself formed the determination to accompany the Boer forces in the field so as to ensure both sides of the question being known, and in order to gain that fair hearing and credence for their acts and statements which would never have been given to anything issuing from the Boer leaders themselves, or from the few combatant correspondents who wrote occasionally to the Boer newspaper organs at Cape Town and Bloemfontein. Circumstances and previous experience placed me in a favourable position to attain this object. My overtures having been most favourably received,

and protection and assistance in furthering my views having been promised by the Boer Head-quarter Staff, I was desirous of going straight up to their camp on the Drakensberg, through the English lines, as being much the nearest and the best route for me in every way. With that intent I wrote to Sir George Colley, to whom I was personally well known, and from whom I had experienced in previous campaigns the greatest kindness and consideration, requesting his permission to pass through the English lines, and the requisite acknowledgment of my position of a Special War Correspondent on the other side; so that afterwards, whatever the result might be, no question as to my status in the Boer camp might arise to my detriment or danger. To my letter, written in January, I received the following reply:—"Camp, Newcastle, January 20, 1881. Dear Captain Newman,—I have received your letter of the 17th. I should be very glad indeed to see you *again with our column* as Special Correspondent; but I am afraid the proposal to join the Boer forces as Special Correspondent is one which I, *in my official capacity*, cannot give any encouragement to. Very truly yours, G. Pomeroy Colley."

This, of course, was written before any authoritative declaration was made in England as to whether the Boers were to be treated as Rebels in arms or as Belligerents; and therefore, when I came to think it over, I could expect nothing different. As General Colley, however, distinctly stated that *in his official capacity* he could not encourage my mission, which I was still resolved on, I thought the best way would be to go quietly up through the Orange Free State, and over the Vaal River into the Transvaal. I felt assured that as my object was known no harm would result to me afterwards, in the event of the Boers succumbing to the British forces; and although I anticipated hard fighting, a rough life, and some danger from the younger Boers themselves, that never for one moment made me hesitate in my resolve or prevented its execution. This change of route, however, necessitated a much longer time being occupied on my journey to the Boer camp, and a total re-arrangement of all my plans, both of travelling and of direct communication afterwards. For, unlike the "Specials" with the British forces, I

should have no telegraph to assist me, and have to rely solely upon my own and servant's despatch-riding, getting occasionally a little help from the Boer authorities. While making these necessary changes in my projected scheme, the affairs of Lang's Nek and the Ingogo occurred, proving both the power and pluck of the Boers, and their determination to fight it out *à outrance;* and falsifying in the clearest manner all the statements, and even calumnies, disseminated throughout the Cape, and even in Europe, as to their cowardice and lack of unity in purpose.

I may here conveniently mention the case of my *confrère* on the Press, Mr. A. Aylward—from whose writings I have occasionally quoted in this work—then editor of the *Natal Witness*, on which paper he succeeded Mr. F. R. Statham, the author of "Boers, Blacks, and British." Unfortunately for him, his previous career as a noted Republican, both in Ireland and South Africa, together with the views held by him and openly expressed through the columns of the *Witness*, and in his book on the Transvaal, were such as to place him almost in the black book of the British authorities, who refused him point-blank either the permission to proceed to the Boer camp as the representative of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Natal Witness*, or recognition in any way afterwards as anything but a rebel in arms, if he went over to the enemy's side. And when it was found out, or at least strongly suspected, that Mr. Aylward was even at that time advising and giving information to the Boer leaders, public indignation was aroused against him in Natal to such an extent that threats of lynching him were openly uttered by respectable citizens and some of the soldiery. Consequently, immediately after the Ingogo fight he left his hotel one morning for a ride and never came back, proceeding *viâ* Grey Town and the Biggarsberg to Utrecht and the Nek, where he arrived about the 18th of February. Thence he sent a long descriptive and interesting letter to the *Express* newspaper (a Boer organ at Bloemfontein), in which, after detailing his experiences *en route*, he gave a vivid description of the Boer camp and the Nek itself, with statements and details as to the fights at Lang's Nek and the Ingogo, from which I have only the space to

extract the following graphic bit as to the appearance of the first Boer camp formed on the Drakensberg :—

"I shall now proceed to describe a first view in the Boer camp on the Nek, which will more graphically than any other form of narrative bring the scene and the area before the reader. Somewhere in the veldt, in view of the Drakensberg, appeared on the point of a ridge an open area surrounded by waggons. When it was reached and entered, the square was found to contain regular divisions, and in the centre a short line of tents and waggons marked the position of the officers' and staff-quarters. In the second square stood, remarkable by their sombre hue, two limbers taken after the fight of the 8th (the Ingogo) from the Royal Artillery. The spare wheel was still in its place, the chests were nearly empty, containing but twenty shells, or shrapnels, and a few charges of powder. The friction tubes for the guns, and a variety of the more useful contents of the boxes, were however gone, removed by the Artillery. One of the chests had been broken open to get at its contents in the, perhaps, fatal hurry of the last moment. Arrived at the tents, questions were asked and answered, when it was found that the Generals—there are more than one—were away to the front, dimly visible at a distance. The laager contained but few servants; they were in the veldt with the cattle, carefully watched by a mounted guard. About eight flags fluttered from waggons —these marked those belonging to Commandants or Field-cornets, but the men themselves were off to the Nek, there being positively but one idler in all this vast area, and he was half a prisoner. After a while, there being no one to talk to but an overworked Secretary, who continually begged to be allowed to go also to the Nek, hunger asserted itself, and a lump of flesh, half-roasted on a gridiron, with biscuit soon satisfied it. There was tea, and coffee too, but these did not taste as they do in other places; they had been cooked in iron kettles, that were used for either indifferently. There was salt also and sauce, and there the dinner began and ended. From that meal there was no further eating for eighteen hours. The bed was a waggon, and morning brought clouds, mist, and a little rain, in the midst of which, accompanied by a superior officer, the party all started for the front. The General-in-Chief was here found sitting on a low stool under an old waggon-sail, not forty yards from the centre of his position. By the bye, he does not sit there always, so it need not be made a special object of attack on that account. There were three other stools in the tent, and around lay quite a number of able-bodied men, with their guns by them. The General had a bandolier on like his men, and the unacquainted could not have, by the dress, distinguished a lance corporal from a Commandant. Silence and smoke reigned supreme—the Chief was writing letters, and occasionally reading reports. At noon he had breakfast, salt meat and biscuit, with one cup of milkless, flavourless coffee. Then he made a second inspection of his posts. His first was over at daylight. It would be as well to note here that the meals were preceded and followed by fervent prayer, during which the attending officers and soldiers were reverentially attentive. We shared that meal with other invited guests, some five altogether. It may further be noted that every act of the General's, and of his officers, is done in public. There is neither secrecy nor privacy of any sort in camp or laager, and every burgher, however humble, is welcome to every tent or waggon, to sit

and smoke as he will, however high be the rank of the Chief he visits. There is true Republicanism in the Boer camp. Second inspection over, orders were given for the various duties of defence; and it being known that General Sir Evelyn Wood had crossed the Biggarsberg, and that the Rifles, Highlanders, and Hussars were near to reinforce General Colley, care was taken that the place of battle should be widely known. The General later addressed one company of the burghers, and made a most feeling speech, in which he told them what God had so manifestly done for them, and bade them work to the common end, obey their officers, take care of their horses, and prepare to face an enemy outnumbering them and having every appliance of war, and every comfort that civilized organization can procure to aid them. There was no cheering or nonsense, and the men dispersed in silence, nearly all smoking. Then the staff, having seen the point clear, struck tents, and the waggons were ordered off, and moved over a high hill to another post. When we arrived there, the Drakensberg was covered with heavy mist. Rain and thunder came on at six P.M.; nothing could be or was cooked; the General slept in his spurs with his bandolier on. Waterproofs failed to keep the wet out, smoke was our only comfort, and we dozed and smoked till, in the early morning—long before sun up—scouts began to bring in reports. Later we could see of what stuff the Boers were composed. The outlying pickets reported that the British paraded outside of their camp; cavalry mounted. It was coffee-time. No orders were issued; the report was not yet confirmed, or it might mean that Wood was inspecting his men, but as the coffee was finished every man went off to his alarm post, and in three minutes the hills were fully defended. There was no bragging, no cheering, no looking for horses, or asking questions; every man as he stood walked off to his post, and the staff proceeded to inspect the front. Never, in the face of a real danger, for the valleys were misty, and the enemy very formidable, have I seen such cheerful, undemonstrative indifference to results as on the morning of Sunday, the 19th inst., when an attack in force appeared to be imminent. Inquiry now brought to light the fact that there were no differences of opinion whatever among the Boer officers. They were as one man, and their intelligence, news, experience, &c., were, as it were, common property. In the camp were many old gentlemen, veterans of wars with both English and Kaffirs, but never have I heard a word of recrimination, censure, or anger amongst them. Among the more distinguished men present was M. W. Pretorius, whose name alone is a host in itself. The adjutants are capable officers, who do a vast amount of work, and the men are volunteers in the best sense of the word."

I may here add that, after the Amajuba fight, at which he was present, and a subsequent interview between General Joubert and two Special Correspondents, Messrs. Cameron, *Standard*, and Carter, *Times of Natal* (the substance of what then occurred being given in the chapter on the Amajuba fight), Mr. Aylward left the Boer camp at the Nek, and proceeded to Leydenberg, his old station, where he assisted the Boers in

their attacks upon the fort, and tried to induce Lieutenant Long and his little garrison to capitulate. At the conclusion of the campaign, when terms were signed, he journeyed through the Free State and the Cape Colony, and returned to England, where it is probable he will publish another work on the Transvaal, the proof sheets of which he showed me in Pietermaritzburg, entitled "Settlers, Savages, and Settlements in South-East Africa," and dealing with the events that have occurred since the publication of his former work, "The Transvaal of To-day," in 1878, and up to the present time.

In pursuance of my new plans I left Pietermaritzburg by Post cart for Harrismith (which is the first Orange Free State town, situated just over the Drakensberg) early in the second week in February, and notwithstanding the rumours of a Free State commando being on the look-out and blocking up the Pass, I reached there on the evening of the second day, having seen or heard nothing out of the ordinary course of events. I certainly found the inhabitants of the various towns *en route*, viz., Estcourt and Colenso, in rather an excited state. A company of the 97th at the latter place had thrown up earthworks on each side of the roadway on the southern side of the River Tugela, in order to protect the iron bridge but lately erected across that turbulent river; but with the exception of troops moving along, there was nothing else to excite them, although small parties of the Boers had been seen between Ladysmith and the Berg. I also found the inhabitants of Harrismith in a very unsettled state, there being two decidedly hostile elements in the otherwise pleasant little town, the one British and the other strongly anti-British. But although much gas was evolved, no flame had hitherto resulted; and considering that the principal storekeepers (all British) had sold out nearly all their stocks, purchased by the Dutch for their brethren and friends in the Transvaal, I do not think they had much cause to grumble; not like many others on the Border and in the Transvaal, who had their goods, &c., "commandeered" and not paid for, by the Boer Government.

The Volksraad was also sitting at Bloemfontein, and every one was anxious to know what resolutions they would come at as to

neutrality or otherwise. On the road up I met with many refugees, both from the Transvaal and this State, and in conversation with them heard their side of the question; but, on the other hand, I also met many Englishmen who have farms, stores, and stock throughout the country, and in many cases close to the Border, who expressed their firm conviction of their safety, and the maintenance of neutrality throughout the Free State. There were present in the town many, including ladies and children, who had got away from Potchefstrom and other towns in the Transvaal; and although they did not like their captors, yet admitted that they were not ill-treated, in the strict sense of the word. There was also a small detachment of prisoners—men of the 94th—who were taken at Bronkhorst Vlei, who had come through Cronstadt, where they were kindly received and helped on by Mr. Coulson, until reaching Harrismith, when Mr. Barrett, of Evans & Co., gave them waggons, provisions, money, and anything they wanted, except liquor, and forwarded them on to Natal. A report was prevalent, having come from Bethlehem, that Commandant Raaff and Major Clarke had shot their guards and escaped; but the former's brother, my friend Mr. J. J. Raaff, did not believe it; as, had it been so, some of their friends and relatives would have heard from or seen them ere then. It may not, perhaps, be well known that both these officers had been tried twice, and only acquitted on the latter occasion. The first time they were both found guilty of treason to the Republic, and would have been shot, had not Paul Kruger, the President, refused to confirm the finding of the Court, and ordered a new trial. The two Dutchmen taken with them, and tried at the same time, were convicted and shot—papers found on them incriminating them fully, at any rate to the satisfaction of the Provisional Government. I was told that every endeavour was being made to trace and capture the men who committed Elliott's murder, and that two were already arrested for complicity in the act. President Kruger's brother was in Harrismith some days before my arrival, purchasing arms and stores for the Boers, and only left the day before I arrived; otherwise, as he had heard of my advent, and approved highly of my intentions to proceed into

the Transvaal, and had also done what he could to facilitate them, I should have been glad to meet him and journey on with him.

I found, however, that nothing was to be gained by haste, and that, before attempting to proceed to the Border, I should have to await the decision of the Volksraad on neutrality, as well as the arrival of Mr. Raaff, who had kindly been in communication with the Boer Government at Heidelberg about me, and had arranged to drive me on to the Border, where I was to be met, and escorted first to Heidelberg and then down to Lang's Nek. Having, therefore, some time at my disposal, I interviewed all the leading men in the town and district, and communicated my observations to the papers I represented, as well as to General Colley, who, I felt sure, would respect me none the less for my determination to proceed to the Boer camp as a "Special," and would give my opinions and views whatever attention they merited, as coming from an unbiassed and trustworthy source. As it was impossible for me to hear the decision of the Volksraad, then sitting at Bloemfontein, on the neutrality question, until the arrival of the weekly mail on the Sunday following, or by private means before the end of the week, I was glad to avail myself of an opportunity which offered of journeying along the boundary of Natal up to its most North-eastern point, where the O. F. S. and Transvaal join. Armed with a letter of introduction from the Landdrost of Harrismith —Mr. J. L. de Villiers, now the First Landdrost of Pretoria under the new *régime*—to Mr. Cornelius de Villiers, the Commandant of the District, a leading member of the Volksraad, and an ardent sympathiser with the Transvaalers, who was supposed to be patrolling the Free State Border in order to preserve a strict neutrality; and accompanied by Mr. Tese Uys, a well-known and highly influential connection of the Uys family, I had little hesitation in leaving Harrismith under a promise of the tour not extending over four days. I left late on Monday, 21st of February, for Mr. Uys' farm on the Tanjes Berg (about 25 miles from Harrismith), where we slept that night. Early next morning we started in his spider with two horses, and an after-rider, along the Border road—shown on Jeppe's map—leading

in a northerly direction; and, arriving at Mill River, where there had once been a canteen and store, we outspanned. Soon after our arrival another spider drove up (having come by a more direct road straight from Harrismith that morning), containing Mr. Gert Maritz and Mr. Nel, both of Umvoti County, who had driven up from Natal on purpose to proceed to the Border to visit relations and see the true state of affairs along the Border. The former gentleman had known me previously during the Zulu war, and I had therefore every opportunity of hearing the true state of affairs, and also the straightforward opinions of a sensible man. He most decisively stated that not one of the Natal men had actively joined the Transvaalers, nor directly aided them in any way; but at the same time admitted that they had their most earnest sympathies and best wishes, although regretting the war and the bitter determination with which it was being carried on. Mr. Nel had two sons in the Transvaal during the commencement of the outbreak, and beyond hearing that they had both been commandeered, knew nothing whatever of their doings or whereabouts, having received no communication from them since that time.

On the banks of the river we found an encampment of two tents and several waggons, oxen, horses, sheep, &c., and on inquiry found that the party consisted of several families of Boers who had escaped and trekked from their farms near Wakkerstrom, in consequence of their defiance of and refusal to fight for the Boers. They described things in that district pretty much as we all knew of them afterwards, and seemed fully *au fait* with all the Boer projects and movements. From this and various other most authentic sources, I have always heard the Boer losses at Lang's Nek and Schuin's Hooghte put down at near about the number stated in the published reports of the Republican Provisional Government; and although I do not understand how they could be so small, yet having conversed with some who were actually present at either, or both fights, I can come to no other conclusion but that they were given in the main correctly; the more so, as in both cases the names of the dead and wounded have also been given out. After a short rest the two spiders proceeded in company, as we

found out that Messrs. Maritz and Nel were going nearly as far as we were. Cornelius River and many intermediate spruits and swamps got through, we parted company with our Natal friends, they proceeding due North near to Praamkop, while we had to turn off to the North-east, towards the rise of the Klip River, on a farm near which we were informed Commandant de Villiers was with his patrol. Rain began now to descend pretty heavily, and as the hills were covered with mist, and it was getting nearly dusk, we decided upon going to the next farmhouse we could see to stop the night. This we were able to accomplish about seven o'clock, and the people of the place (a very poor one, by the bye) having given us a share of their small house and pot-luck, we did the best we could to spend the night, sleeping (when not disturbed by the fleas, which were large and numerous) on the floor, only too thankful to be under shelter. The owner of the place, also a Mr. Uys, was not very communicative, and knew, or appeared to know, little about the state of things in the neighbourhood, but made no hesitation in expressing his desire to remain neutral. We did, however, after much pumping, manage to get some little news out of him; and in consequence of his information we proceeded again early next day (Wednesday), without waiting for breakfast, and through the heavy rain, which had continued all night, to another farm further on under the Berg, near to the source of the Klip River, inhabited by a family of the name of Nel.

At this place, where we would not off-saddle, we learnt that Commandant De Villiers was not on the Border at present, but had left on the Monday previous with fifty men, six waggons, and a Cape cart, for Joubert's camp, but for what purpose was not known. (This corroborated the Ladysmith telegrams as to a Free State commando having been seen on the Berg.) A son of the man then appeared, who stated that he had been present at the engagement at Lang's Nek, in the Boer commando held in reserve, and had brought therefrom a Martini-Henri (converted Enfield), of the 1-60th, a sword, bayonet, and a bandolier full of cartridges, evidently having belonged to a Mounted Infantryman, all of which I saw. He

then further, of his own accord, gave us a description of the fight, and also of the one at Ingogo, in which he took an active part, and captured a prisoner—Bugler Field, of the 3-60th, Captain Thurlow's Company, the only one taken. This young boy was produced for our inspection, but I did not care to arouse suspicion by questioning him too much. He seemed to have been kindly treated by his captor, but had had a very narrow escape on the field, Lieutenant Pixley falling wounded on one side of him, and a soldier shot dead on the other. He managed to get a little shelter in a hole and there remained till the engagement was over, when he was taken prisoner by young Nel, and brought into camp. Several of the Boers there wanted to kill him, and offered the man a fine horse in exchange, but Nel would not let him go, and brought him with him into the Orange Free State. After some further conversation, in which we learned many more of the events which had occurred on the Border, and a statement that young Nel was going back again to help the Boers, who had fallen back and were fortifying their positions at Lang's Nek and Schuin's Hooghte, we departed and turned back, glad to get away, and grieved with the news we had heard. Before departing, I and Mr. Uys had, however, offered Nel either of the horses for the boy, but in vain, and so we had to leave him there, though much against our wills. Returning by a more direct, though heavier and more mountainous, road close to the Berg, we drove for about three hours and then reached a small store known as McLeod's, but now inhabited by a family named Campbell, where we were informed that many armed Boers and waggons had passed on to the Boer camp. Here we outspanned and had breakfast. The extreme point we had penetrated to by Nel's farm was only about three hours' ride on horseback from Joubert's camp, where we also learned that Paul Kruger was; and from a hill at the back of the house—one of the Berg mountains—we could see Newcastle, distant not more than fifteen miles.

However much the Free State Government might have wished to keep their State neutral, I am afraid that it must now be admitted they were hardly able—or rather, let me say, had not been able—to keep it so, as I learnt from actual eye-witnesses

that not only were Boer patrols constantly seen along the Border, but that waggons, horses, and cattle, captured previously near Newcastle by a large Boer patrol, were brought up through a pass in the Drakensberg, and conveyed into the Transvaal through the Free State. The fact that there also were several men in that neighbourhood who had been present and wounded at the recent engagements, and intended to go back again, proved the state of doubt then existing, and showed that some firm steps should have been taken by the Free State authorities to punish the offenders and prevent the recurrence of such affairs. From information obtained at the time and since, both on the spot and elsewhere, I have no hesitation in saying that the men who had been acting in such a manner were of no position in the District, and in two notable cases were well-known law-breakers ; so that it would have been a great pity if such irresponsible men should be permitted to bring discredit and difficulty upon the Orange Free State. But to continue with our journey. After a two hours' stay at Mrs. Campbell's we continued our cross-country course, with the object of calling specially at the farm of Commandant C. de Villiers, and hearing from them where he was, and upon what duty. Just before arriving there we caught up a young relation of his, a Mr. Du Toit, who had just left the Border, and was riding down to Ladysmith on business. From him we heard that the family had left some time since, and only one son and a white overseer remained on the place. It was still raining hard and our horses very tired, so we were obliged to outspan and enter the house for a while. This young fellow volunteered a good deal of information on subjects connected with the war, which confirmed what we had hitherto heard, and he seemed thoroughly well acquainted with the position, movements, and prospects of the Boers. We learnt from him that two guns had been placed in position at Lang's Nek by the Boers, but that one was a small brass ship's cannon, and the other they could not manage, as it flew up in the air when fired, and was not to be depended on. They had also dug out trenches, erected earthworks, and their position was very strong. They had had very severe and trying weather, and were neither well provided with clothes,

blankets, or change of food. How they stood it so far is a puzzle to many, and hardy as they may be, illness must (one would have thought) have resulted from such a long exposure. They were fairly provided with doctors, principally uncertificated men, but still useful in their way, and they were expecting proper ones up from the Cape and Orange Free State, along with comforts for the wounded. This was the substance of his remarks.

Without waiting for dinner we inspanned and reached Tanjes Berg at dusk that night. Mr. Uys and his wife showed me every kindness, and it is purely owing to his kindness and eagerness to benefit both the State and the Transvaal, added to the effect produced by the Landdrost's letter of introduction, that I was enabled to see so much in so short a time. I rode back to Harrismith early next day, and then heard news from Bloemfontein that the Volksraad had decided finally upon a position of strict neutrality. The effect of this decisive and right-minded step was at once fully apparent. I also found Mr. Raaff had returned and was ready for me to make a start, although he recommended me to await the coming of President Brand, who had decided upon proceeding himself to the British and Boer camps, in order to mediate between them as to terms of peace. But as the weather was then very bad, and the date of the President's arrival uncertain, together with the expectation of a big fight between the Boers and the united forces of Sir George Colley and Sir E. Wood, I thought it best to try to get on without delay, especially as the rumours reached me that many of the Dutchmen thought I was a spy, and might try to prevent my reaching or crossing the Border. The weather, however, remained very bad, and all the rivers were so flooded that travelling through the Free State was rendered almost impossible, and dangerous even when practicable, through the want of bridges and punts. All the rivers, and even the smallest streams, swell so rapidly after a fall of rain that they become dangerous and impassable. The want of proper accommodation-houses is also greatly felt, off the main road and outside the towns; so that travelling in these regions, even in fine weather, is neither comfortable nor amusing. Being unable

to drive I tried to ride up. Twice I started, and twice I had to return, being unable under existing circumstances to get any one to guide or drive me up direct to the camp. While thus being tossed about at the freak of fortune, or rather misfortune, the news reached us of the Amajuba fight, heavy loss and retreat of the British, and death of Sir George Colley. This news stunned us for a time, and made us quite doubt the possibility of any peace terms being come to through President Brand's mediation. I was just on the point of starting off again, determined at all hazards to ride through to the Boer camp alone, when I received authentic information that a party of doctors, belonging to the Red Cross Association of Cape Town, and sent up under their auspices, was being brought up by Commandant Raatz and an escort of Free State Burghers, and had passed Bethlehem the day previous on their way direct across to the Boer camp. This determined me, and without waiting any more for the President's arrival, I persuaded my friends, Mr. Raaff and Landdrost De Villiers, to drive me over part of the way, and leave me to catch the party up, when we had ascertained when and where and how long they had gone on in front of me.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EXPERIENCES IN THE BOER CAMP.

Drive to Mill River—Mr. Mandy's Farm—Start next Day—Catch up Commandant Raatz and Doctors—Our Party—Journey to Border—Incidents *en route*—Crossing the Klip River—Travelling under Difficulties—Meet Boer Patrols—Dr. Barbour's Grave—Road past the Amajuba—First View of Boer Camp—The Free State Laager—Other Camps—Description of Valley—Camp Life—Visit to Top of Amajuba—Sixty Hours' Rain—Five in a Mule Waggon—Commandant De Villiers' Departure—Course of Peace Meetings—Convention Signed—Terms of Convention—President Brand's Arrival in Boer Camp—The Boers and Civilization—Interviews with Brand, Pretorius, Kruger and Joubert—Melton Prior turns up—Departure of Red Cross Doctors—Boer Camp broken up—Mount Prospect—Old Acquaintances—Newcastle at last—Boer Delegates arrive—"Brothers of the Quill"—Mr. Gladstone's Effigy Burnt—Lady Florence Dixie—Post Cart to Pietermaritzburg.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 12th of March, I was driven over to the farm of Mr. F. C. Mandy, near the Mill River, over which, at a drift close by, the Doctors' party had, as we found, only that morning preceded me, though we learnt that, on account of the flooded state of the next (Cornelius) river, a very narrow, swift and deep stream, they would be detained for a day at least until the waters subsided. This fact, and the kind invitation of my host to stay the night, decided me not to attempt to catch them up in the dark, but to await the morning and ride on with a guide and a pack-horse, and overtake them at my ease next day. It was well that I did so, for the rain began to come down very heavily again that evening, and continued nearly all night, wetting completely through the kind friends (who had driven me over thus far) on their return journey. Early next morning the eldest son of my host drove me down to the Mill River—passing on the road many herds of blesbock and springbock—where we found a temporary raft working across the river, constructed of six barrels and some

planks fastened over them, the proper punt having been washed away many days before. My "achter" rider having divested the three horses of their saddles and accoutrements, they were turned in with nothing on but a headstall and a loose "rheim" attached thereto, and allowed to swim across as best they could, while we floated across with our things dry on the raft to the other side, whence a few hours' ride brought me with little difficulty to the camp of the Red Cross surgeons and their escort. I had brought letters of introduction to Commandant John Raatz, who was in charge of the party, and upon presentation of the same was made cordially welcome and had to give all the latest news and explain my object and wishes. The Commandant, a fine specimen of an Afrikander, tall, muscular, not too stout, with a pleasant bearded face, and a quiet manner which betokened strength and confidence, is a well-known and highly important man among the Free Staters; and, added to the fact that he is one of the most popular members of the Volksraad, he is also a great personal friend of the President, and a most ardent sympathiser with the Transvaal Boers and the cause for which they are fighting. Immediately on learning that two doctors were going up to assist the Boer wounded and sick, he volunteered to take them right up himself at his own expense, and well he kept his word. The rest of the party consisted of the two doctors and their assistant, and about twenty-five other men going up to join their relations against the "common foe." They seemed very much in earnest, bitter against the English, and were well armed, mounted and provisioned. Two waggons, several Cape carts, and a troop of horses accompanied them on the road up. Of the two doctors, one was French—the second son of the late well-known Basuto Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Daumas, of Mequatling—a clever young surgeon, recently District surgeon at Maseru, with the forces in the Gaika and Galeka War of 1878, who had served through the Franco-German War, and been in Paris during the siege, with myself and many others of different nationalities, now here in South Africa. The other was Dr. Von Mengershausen, a German from Jamestown, with a high reputation, who had also served, but on the German side, in part of the

Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. With them was a German assistant or dresser, Mr. Witnich, and they expected another dresser, with ambulances and more medical stores, to come round by sea to Natal and then join them at Lang's Nek. It was somewhat strange that night after dinner, when we sat down in the tent to talk over the probabilities of the war, to find representatives of four nations—English, French, German, and Dutch—uniting together, for the time at least, in general sympathy, if not in individual opinions, with the struggle then occurring in the Transvaal; and I may say, speaking for myself, that the foundations were laid on that occasion of two, if not three, sincere friendships, which have gone on increasing until now, and seem likely to outlast the evil effects of the struggle itself.

After the next day's journey—the river having much subsided—the night brought us close to the Border, and among the numerous farms belonging to the various and extensive family of Uys. We dined at the house of one, who was away himself, with his two sons, and the mothers and daughters were all that were left at home. They had had to mourn the death of a cousin already, but seemed willing to give up father and brothers for the sake of their relatives and country. On this day's journey I passed the only farm about there where ostrich-breeding was carried on, and it struck me as being somewhat singular that I should only have seen that one. In the evening we encamped close to the residence of another Uys, and, while there, one of the doctors was requested to ride over to a farm a little distance off, to visit a man very sick with dysentery. The man who rode over to fetch the doctor seemed to be of decided anti-Boer tendencies, and gave vent to many ill-judged remarks on the subject in front of the young fellows going up with us, which would most assuredly have led to a serious dispute had it not been for Raatz, who poured oil on the troubled waters, and moderated the feelings and utterances of both sides. Next morning after breakfast the doctor returned, having done what he could to relieve his patient, and we reached the Klip River, at a place marked on the map Zeekoe Vley, about mid-day. The river here was about thirty yards broad, very deep and

swift, and the late rains had swollen the Vley so much that over three feet of water extended away on both sides of the drift for miles, and gave us quite three-quarters of a mile more wading across it after passing over the river itself. The river rises to the East on the Drakensberg, and the valley is always more or less full of water, and is inhabited by hippopotami, about the only place I came across where many of those unwieldy amphibians remain. The wild duck and water-fowl shooting would enchant any member of the sporting fraternity, and would well repay a visitor even from England. Fortunately the day was fine, and we determined to begin unpacking everything at once and get as much as we could across that afternoon There was no punt, and all we had to help us were four barrels, upon which were fastened the bed planks of a waggon, and a long rope. With these slender and apparently—to an Englishman—useless appliances, we commenced operations. First two or three men stripped themselves and swam over the river, dragging the rope across which was fastened to the raft; and then, having gained a small piece of rising ground on the other side about ten yards square, and ordinarily covered by the flood, but showing about 1½ feet of dry ground then, they hauled the raft across with all the baggage on as many times as was necessary until everything was over. The waggons we found it would be impossible to get over, so they were left behind, and only the carts and our mule waggon were to be taken over, while the horses swam across in a body, with the mules and some oxen. The raft was so shaky that those who preferred going across on it to swimming had to lie down and carefully balance the whole concern against the action of the stream, which was running quite ten knots an hour. The raft was so narrow that all the Cape carts were got on it with their bodies resting on the planks and their wheels overhanging in the water. With the mule waggon, however, we had to undo the whole, and fasten a barrel to each of the four wheels, and float it across, with several men swimming and holding on at each side and end of it. Even then the bottom of the cart was often under the water.

After superhuman exertions all was got over safely; and we

encamped that night on the hill above, with a lovely moon and plenty of mosquitoes! Just before we had finished the work, several horsemen rode down to us, having left the Boer camp to ride over to meet our party. From them we learnt of the continuance of the armistice, and the journey of President Brand, *viâ* Harrismith and Muller's Pass, to Newcastle, whence he was expected to reach the Boer camp next day. The men in camp seemed hopeful of peace through Brand's mediation, but were equally ready to continue the war if they did not get their independence unfettered. We inspanned early next morning and proceeded quickly for the camp, which was distant about six hours' drive for a cart, but only three for horses, by taking a short cut over the hills. After leaving the river and getting closer to the boundary, we found the farms more deserted and neglected, but the live stock seemed to be running about pretty much the same as usual. Coffee was partaken of at each of the houses on the road, as is customary; and at 11.30 we crossed in an almost easterly direction the boundary of the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal, with Lang Klip Mountain, in the Verzamel-Berg, on our left, and the Amajuba Spitzkop, or Colley's Berg, as it is now called, straight ahead of us, and the long uneven dark ranges of the Drakensberg Mountain on our right. We outspanned for lunch at the farm of a Mr. Du Preez—one of the finest homesteads I had seen on my journey. While there we heard the full details of the murder of Dr. Barbour, and attempted murder of Mr. Dyas, and were shown the grave of the former on a farm adjoining. The host also gave us a description of the fight of the previous week, which took place on the Amajuba, the western side of which was plainly visible from his verandah and front door. After leaving there, in an hour's time we got on to a very bad, wet and boggy road. The sides of the hills were now beginning to be covered with firewood, and Kaffir kraals were very numerous on all sides. At a farmhouse, now deserted, on a western spur of the Amajuba, we outspanned again, and were there met by many Boers from camp, and a mounted patrol, who informed us of the commencement of the conferences between Joubert and Wood, at a place half-way between the two camps. President

Brand had not yet arrived, having been delayed by weather and bad roads, but was hourly expected.

The road from the western front of the Amajuba rises over a neck of land connecting the north-western side of the Amajuba with a projecting point of the Verzamel-Berg, from which point one of the Boer storming parties charged up the mountain. Upon reaching the top of this neck the hills extend suddenly and trend away sharply to the left and right, those on the left going up to Alleman's Nek, and on the right past Lang's Nek to the Belelasberg, leaving a long valley, upon the sides of which, intersected by one large and several small streams, the Dutch camps, made up of several distinct laagers, were placed. The high road to Pretoria runs straight through it from Lang's Nek to Alleman's Nek almost flat from south to north for nearly six miles, with Meek's white store glistening in the distance, about half way, in the afternoon sun. We passed, and noticed patrols around us on every hill, while a large number of vedettes and sentries encircled the camps; and I especially noticed a large body of men on the top of the Amajuba, which from this point looks like three mountains alongside each other, with separate oblong tops just touching each other longitudinally, and with brush-covered rocky gorges running up distinctly between each. Horses and cattle were dotted all over the plain, but otherwise there did not appear much life in camp, the defences and the men on duty at Lang's Nek and the line of Boer fortification being hidden from our view by intervening low hills. The first laager was pitched just below the Nek we had come over, and consisted entirely of Orange Free State men under Commandant C. J. de Villiers, the man I had ridden along the Border some time previously to see. He had with him about 300 men, who took their share of duty with the other camps. Beyond this, across a stream flowing down from the northern point of the Amajuba, and at the back of Lang's Nek, lay the main laager, with the General's quarters and those of the Vice-President, Kruger, the latter distinguished by a large flag-staff stuck in the ground bearing the colours of the South African Republic, a vertical stripe of green nearest the pole and then three horizontal ones

of red, white, and blue. Beyond this again lay smaller laagers of men from different districts, small pennants flying in front of the respective commandants' quarters, while away in the distance, nearly three miles off, at the head of a steep, though large gorge, and with a good view right down the valley into Natal, was situated another large laager, the only one I noticed arranged in anything like a manner for defensive purposes. Some of the commandants had tents as well as waggons, but most of the men lived in or under the waggons, covered with large buck sails, or else in temporary sheds made with the same. That evening we settled ourselves down comfortably at the top end of the Free State laager, and pitched our tent and waggon permanently, with the Red Cross flag flying above us. As our party drove up in procession, headed by our mounted men armed with rifles, &c., in half sections, the whole of the inhabitants of that laager turned out to welcome us with cheers, and I then quickly made my way down to the Commandant and was introduced to him.

A letter which I had from the Landdrost of Harrismith facilitated matters, but I could see that De Villiers did not quite like my being there. Commandant "Fuljee," as it is pronounced in Dutch, is a prominent man in the Free State, much thought of as a General, having made his military reputation by his conduct and command of men during the late long Basuto war, together with Commandant Raatz. He is a short sturdy man, though rather aged and bent now, with sharp eyes, beetling brows, short grey beard, whiskers, and moustache, and an absent-minded look, which only leaves him when he is speaking. He is the exact opposite of Commandant Raatz in build, manners, and speech, but perfectly at one with him in a feeling of hatred against the English Government and of intense sympathy with the Transvaalers. He does not speak English, like his brother Commandant, but is a more fluent orator in Dutch, speaking rapidly and forcibly, but with considerable ability and style; while Raatz is both a slow thinker and speaker, but in the opinion of many the sounder man of the two. After a little, Raatz went over to see Commandant-General Joubert at once, and De Villiers placed me under the

care of one of his sons to get some dinner. Raatz came back late, having waited Joubert's return from the conference, at which, I learnt, things did not go at all satisfactorily. The Boers in camp did not want peace now they had the advantage, and believed Wood was only talking about terms to gain time for reinforcements to come up. The next day, Thursday, most of our men went to see their friends in the other laagers, and a large party of us went up to examine the Amajuba. Here I carefully examined the whole position, and had the relative attack and defence pointed out to me by one of the leaders of the attack. I also brought away some purple everlasting flowers from the exact spot where poor Sir G. Colley fell, now marked by a stone cairn; as are also the graves of the numerous British soldiers. When we returned, having taken two hours to reach the top, an hour there and another hour to come down, Raatz informed me that having presented my letters to the General, he thought it would not be safe my staying in the camp altogether if war was to continue; but that I might remain until one thing or another was decided, and then come to some safe and suitable arrangement. In the meantime, however, I was not to write openly, sketch, or do anything to excite the suspicions of the younger Boers, who might otherwise ill-treat or even shoot me if I left camp without an escort, or went roaming about by myself.

During that day I heard and saw all I could with reference to many matters, including the recent fights, death of Dr. Barbour, camp life and discipline, state of health, &c., &c. That evening the wind changed, and it turned cold and misty. Late in the evening the rain began, and lasted two days and nights, during which time neither the Doctors nor myself stirred out of the cart—into which we were all obliged to get, as the tent leaked—except to get a little of the stiffness off, and, very occasionally, some food or coffee. How five of us ever managed in the small mule waggon during that time I do not think any of us care to remember; but I fancy the struggles to keep ourselves warm and get a little sleep will not easily be forgotten by either of us. The waggon was only just long enough and broad enough for two to lie down, and then

the middle was all choked up with Red Cross medicine chests and our luggage, so we were obliged to pile up what we could at each end, to prevent the rain coming in, draw the curtains to as well as we could, for the wind was very high, and sit or half lie about on each other like so many pigs. The Commandant and the Doctors had fortunately brought a fair store of provisions with them, including a hard, sweet-kind of rusk biscuit, much used and liked by the Dutch in travelling, coffee, sugar, tea, and last, though not least, a ham. Forty oxen being killed daily in camp, there was a profusion of good beef, all good and fat, and not like the trek ox "Tommy Atkins" had to put up with; and this made life bearable when you could get a fire. But as we could not, no fear of *trichinæ* was sufficient to deter us from eating the ham raw! The universal style of living for all in the camp, officers and men, was coffee all day long, a kettle of water being always on the fire, and then the coffee was put in and boiled up with it; and the meat was cut away anyhow, in small pieces, from the bone, stuck on a ramrod, and roasted over the fire or in the ashes, according to the taste of the owner. At times the bread and sugar ran out, and then the diet was purely a meat one. The only variation being on Sundays, when a general stew was made in a large Kaffir pot, with the addition of a little rice and pumpkin, or both, to the meat; the soup being drunk in tin pannikins, and the balance eaten afterwards. Mealies were also to be got in camp by those who cared to ride to the Kaffir gardens, many of which were deserted between the two lines. There was absolutely no liquor in the camp, though one waggon from the Cape did bring a little "Cape smoke," or brandy, but the owner was not allowed to sell it. Independent as every one seemed, strict order was kept in the camp, and few cases of insubordination or punishment came under my notice.

Saturday, the 19th, broke fine and warm, and we heard early of the arrival at Wood's camp of President Brand. Commandant De Villiers had to return to Harrismith on business, and made a speech to his men before leaving, saying that he thought the peace negotiations were in a fair way of being con-

cluded in their favour, and that he would come back as soon as possible, leaving the command meanwhile with Raatz and Uys (Lang Piet). During the morning the doctors had many patients, principally for eye diseases, dysentery, and rheumatism; and later on we were visited by Vice-President Kruger and some of the Boer surgeons. Throughout the day I was busy, completing my diary and notes, and writing my letters and telegrams, which Commandant de Villiers kindly took in for me to Harrismith, whence they were despatched, and reached their several destinations safely. At the hospital, which was at Meek's before mentioned, there were Doctors Merensky, in charge—this gentleman is a well-known missionary, and was commandeered—Hutchinson, of Utrecht, Heffer, Schultz, and Scheffner. They had six wounded patients and three sick. One of the wounded, Groenwald, who had been shot through the arm and shoulder in the Amajuba fight, had his arm amputated; but through great loss of blood was never able to rally, and died the day we arrived there. The other patients were only slightly wounded, and were doing well, notwithstanding the poor appliances and want of medical necessaries and comforts. Another doctor, named Van Zweel, also came over and announced himself as Staff Field-Surgeon to the camp; and, wanting to get a fortnight's leave, was desirous that one of the Red Cross Doctors should do his duty. This they very properly declined, being, as they informed him, obliged to be strictly neutral, but they offered to see all his patients for him, and do the round of the camps. The man went away seemingly dissatisfied, and we never saw him again. At half-past twelve on that day a great meeting was held over at the head-quarters, at which Kruger read out the terms offered by the British Government to give back part of the Transvaal on certain conditions. This every one was strongly against, and it was decided to express their determination to have all or nothing. The excitement consequent upon this meeting increased all night, and little hopes were then entertained by even the most moderate of peace being concluded.

Next day being Sunday, service was held in the open air, and a sermon preached by a Dutch predikant. Early in the morning

preparations were made on a large scale to go down and meet President Brand, and escort him to the Dutch camp. All the men assembled on horseback from all directions, under their respective Commandants, and it appeared to me wonderful to see the precision with which they marched away in half-sections. Their numbers also greatly exceeded anything I had hitherto thought probable. The assembled men, after being addressed by the leaders, went down, in numbers about 2,000 mounted and 1,000 foot, and brought back the President, with the Transvaal flag carried in front by the General's Adjutant, Viljoen. After going through various movements and a grand march past the President's marquee, Joubert addressed the men, and told them that he hoped peace would soon be made, and all able to go home. President Brand came in a spider and pair, and was accompanied by his Secretary, Mr. Papenfus. A mule waggon also accompanied him, in which he had been driven from Harrismith to Newcastle, *viâ* Muller's Pass, by Mr. Van Rooyen of that town. There were great rejoicings that night throughout all the camps, and an important Kriegsraad was held to consider the final terms of peace offered by General Wood. Late that evening in our tent, to which came a lot of Dutch visitors, we had an interesting argument about the value of civilization. The Dutch party all ridiculed our idea of European civilization, and stated that they considered religion was better alone for a country. The two Doctors and I combated this very strongly, but without convincing them, although we pointed to their own case as an illustration. They are very religious, but entirely uneducated, and the consequence is, they are bigoted, narrow-minded, and unable to govern the country wisely. This they admitted; and they stated their desire to have a thoroughly well-educated, clever man as their President, whom they hoped to find in the Cape. But nothing we could say obtained the slightest admission that education and civilization, or, at any rate, a certain quantity of both, were necessary to be combined with religion, before a country could hope to succeed and hold her own alongside other progressive nations. They were all leading men who were present, and their conversation more than anything else gave me a deep insight into their aspirations

and ideas. All the following day—Monday—was spent in great suspense by us in camp, as the leaders were away all day at the conference with Wood, and we knew well that no proposal to extend the armistice beyond Tuesday evening would be listened to by the Boers, who then determined that, if nothing was settled by that time, they would attack the camp at Mount Prospect early the next morning, before daybreak, in three strong columns, from different points, to try to capture the guns. They were fully resolved, having made up their minds to lose heavily by the Gatlings, but thought "the game was worth the candle." As I afterwards learnt, the troops would have been quite ready for them, but the Gatlings had previously been sent away. There is little doubt but that the Dutch could have rushed the camp, it being perfectly open; but they would have been severely handled by the troops who would hold the several earthen redoubts, erected at the most salient points. The taking of the guns is more problematical, as even if the artillerymen were obliged to give them up, there would have been plenty of time to spike them and thus render them useless.

At sunset, one of Kruger's sons came back, and told us that the preliminary terms of peace were being signed, and at 10 P.M. it was finished down below, and the Dutch envoys returned to camp amid great rejoicings and firing off of guns. Tuesday morning arrived, and quickly a large concourse assembled at the great laager, to hear the exact terms read out. After this was done, many speeches were made, and, on the whole, the people were satisfied. But there was still an undercurrent of suspicion shown as to the real intentions of the British Government, and doubt as to whether they would ratify fully what had been done. So none of them departed for their homes, but awaited the confirmation from England by telegraph. After church and when things had subsided, I rode over to see President Brand, whom I had met previously in England and at the Cape. I was enquiring outside the marquee whether he was in and visible, when I heard his voice asking me to come in. I dismounted, fastened up my horse and entered. The President, a short, very pleasant-looking man, rather worn and grey, sat in a chair talking to Mr. Pretorius, one of the Trium-

virate, and other Boer leaders. They were seated along one side of the tent, while in the middle, at a temporary desk made of empty boxes, sat a fair-haired young man, who I afterwards learnt was the clerk to the Executive Council, writing hard. Mr. Brand was taking a short rest after his arduous labours, and not wishing to bother him much I entered upon a conversation with Mr. Pretorius, who is a very tall, fine-looking man, plainly dressed in fustian, with a wide-awake hat on, shadowing a face of the primitive Dutch-Hollander type, ruddy and clean shaven except a large moustache, which, like his hair, is inclined to greyish. He seemed an active, fluent, and sound speaker in both English and Dutch, and has a most pleasant countenance when in conversation. Mr. Pretorius, another Boer leader, and I discussed several matters in connection with the state of the people, the war, terms of peace, the probable future of the country, with fairness and straightforwardness on all sides; but I could see easily that they were both more sanguine as to the future of a Great United South African Republic than I think circumstances yet warrant.

Mr. Brand wishing to get a little sleep, I bade him adieu, and went home with Mr. Pretorius to see Vice-President Kruger, as General Joubert, whom I particularly wanted to see, was out, but expected back hourly. We found Mr. Kruger just outside his tent. I easily recognised him, having met him previously in Pietermaritzburg on his return from England on the Transvaal Deputation. He is to my thinking the most peculiar-looking man of the lot. Walking towards him you notice a man of middle height, with black whiskers and beard, no moustache, thick protruding overhanging nose, high arched eyebrows, very loose black clothes, and a hat thrown far back over his head. He stoops much, is round-shouldered, and suffers from a slight defect in speech, which makes him a harsh, rapid, but not unpleasant, talker. I had but little to say to him, and then went down and met the Predikant, the Rev. Mr. Von Varramlow, of Heidelberg, Chaplain to the Boer Government, and the most influential and best educated clergyman among them. He was universally known and liked, and seemed as thoroughly anti-English as any Boer among them could wish for. General

Joubert and his Camp-Adjutant or Aide-de-camp Smidt, now riding up, I went with Pretorius and met the now celebrated man for the first time. What attracts attention at once about the man is his abrupt military bearing, determined mouth, and piercing eyes. Take these away, and the man remains insignificant. He said very little, and that little curtly, and in answer to my request for permission to go through to Newcastle at once to refit and start off for Heidelberg and Pretoria, said that he could not allow me to do so until the terms of peace had been ratified. He then turned, saw several other men, gave his orders, and retired to his own tent. Upon getting back to my own quarters I found a man called Naudee just arrived from Pretoria with despatches for the General from the Boer Commander there, stating that late in February the English garrison had attempted a sortie in force, but were beaten back with a casualty list of over 100, including three officers. How much truth there was in this we did not know for some time afterwards.

Late that evening, and in fact all through the night, every one was busy making preparations for the trek on the morrow. Having nothing to do, for my preparations were few and quickly executed, I walked about the camp, visiting various Boers I knew, and being received hospitably by all. I heard of the arrival in camp that evening of Melton Prior, the adventurous Special Artist of the *Illustrated London News*, who, though against the orders of the British Commander, managed to pass the outposts, and reached the Boer camp without molestation. Early the next morning I saddled up and rode down to the English camp at Mount Prospect, after bidding adieu to all my Boer friends, and *pro tem.* to the two Doctors, who had to go back with Commandant Raatz some way to see their ambulance and things sent off to Bloemfontein before returning to the Cape through Newcastle and Durban. They had previously offered their services to the Boer Government to go up country if necessary; but that, upon consideration, was declined, and a letter, thanking them in very handsome terms for their services hitherto, was sent over by Dr. Jorrissen on behalf of the Government. On my way down to Mount Prospect I passed, close to

the Nek, Cameron of the *Standard*, Carter, and Fripp of the *Graphic*, while further on Hay of the *Daily News*, and other "Specials" unknown to me, rode past on their way into the Boer camp.

That morning very early, General Wood, with his Staff, rode up the Amajuba; and when they came down, the Boer camp was a thing of the past; only a few scattered waggons remaining to show the position of the large Boer camp on the now celebrated Lang's Nek. I reached Mount Prospect in time for breakfast, and was warmly welcomed, "taken in and done for," by Major Hartt, an old friend of Zulu War fame, and then Staff officer at the advanced camp. The news of my arrival in camp becoming known, I was visited by crowds of officers and men, some of whom were known to me, and others strangers. Among the former were Major Barrow, Captain Hutton, and Lord St. Vincent, of the Mounted Infantry, who looked as well and jolly as ever; and C. D. Hay, an old school-fellow, late Commandant of Jantje's Native Horse in Zululand, but now attached to the old "Ninety-twa." Finding so much to interest me, I remained that day at Mount Prospect, sleeping and being put up in the Mounted Infantry Quarters; and the next morning I rode through quickly to Newcastle, only staying half an hour on the road, at the scene of the fight at the Ingogo. Nothing remained to point out the spot except the carcases of a few horses and the numerous marks of bullets against the rocks. I reached Newcastle about mid-day, and need hardly say was rejoiced at being able to have a decent wash, meal and bed, in the Masonic Hotel, which I found, like every other place in the town, crowded with an army of officers, "Specials," *et hoc genus omne*. The rest of that day was spent in sending off telegrams and letters, because I was the only one there who at that time was aware of the exact terms of the Convention. I had heard it read out and explained by Joubert to the assembled Boers on the Monday, while the British authorities had kept its contents as secret as they could. The following day, Vice-President Kruger and Dr. Jorrissen arrived in the town, whence the latter sent the following telegram on the 26th to the *Volksblad*:—"Kruger and I here to settle minor questions with General Wood. Peace

established on reasonable grounds. We are thankful to Her Majesty for having done us justice, and we trust that the Royal Commission will complete this grand act of doing us justice, so that an everlasting peace may exist between all nationalities. Tell all our friends." They put up at the Plough Hotel, where I went to visit them, and President Brand also stayed for a day or two in Newcastle *en route* for Harrismith. The same evening Mr. Gladstone's effigy was burnt on the Market square at Newcastle before a large concourse of people, prominent among whom I noticed several officers in uniform, and my *confrère* of the *Standard*. This was showing and acting up to your political principles, with a vengeance. My business was soon completed, and leaving my horses to follow me, I went down to Pietermaritzburg by Post cart, in order to arrange several matters of importance, and to refit. Just before my departure from the hotel, we were gratified at the arrival of the clever Special Correspondent of the *Morning Post*, Lady Florence Dixie (sister to the Duke of Queensberry), who with her husband, Sir Beaumont Dixie, has made her mark both as a traveller and writer in the New and Old Worlds. She received a hearty welcome from all of us, and was soon domesticated at the camp.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE AMAJUBA.

Indian Column at Newcastle—Boer Movements—Body of Lieutenant Wilkinson Found—Smart Reconnaissances—Sir George Colley Reviews Troops—Column advances to Mount Prospect—De Nel's House burnt—Cavalry Patrol—Peace Negotiations—Sir George Colley's Night March—Daylight on the Amajuba—Boer Excitement—Engagement commences—Fight up to 11.30—A Special's Escape—His Telegrams—The Defeat of the British—Death of Sir George Colley—Interview with Boer Leader—Camp alarmed—Attention to Wounded—Burying Parties next Day—Numbers engaged and Total Casualties—Aylward and English "Specials"—General Orders on Sir George Colley's Death—Monument and Memorials—Sir Evelyn Wood—General Sir Frederick Roberts—Large Reinforcements—Minor Details of the Fight—Unpleasant Revelations.

Upon the arrival of the "Indian Column" at Newcastle, and after the meeting of the two Generals—Sir G. P. Colley and Sir Evelyn Wood—it was determined to make no further advance until more reinforcements reached them, as the camp at Mount Prospect was perfectly safe; and reconnaissances could best be made from Newcastle as well as keeping open communications with the advanced post. The main body of the Boers fell back behind their lines at the Nek, and were from time to time strongly reinforced from Heidelberg, Wakkerstrom, and other Districts. They kept, however, on the *qui vive*, and small parties pounced down from the Berg on any transport waggons, or well-stocked farms, near enough to be easily captured or removed. On the 18th of February a small detachment of twenty mounted police was sent back to Adendorff's farm, because the Boer patrols occasionally visited it; and on the following day a large Boer patrol was seen at the Ingogo, and the vedettes at Mount Prospect were fired on. The body of Lieutenant Wilkinson, 3-60th, drowned while on an errand of mercy to the wounded at the Ingogo fight, was found down the river, and taken for

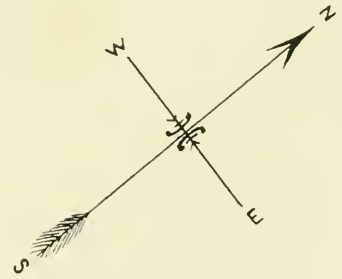
PLAN OF
the

A Mayuba Top, 6200 Ft. above the Sea.

DRAWN TO SCALE FROM ACTUAL
MEASUREMENT BY

Chas. L. Norris-Newman

Total Area about 4 3/4 acres.



Road from Klip River to Laings Neck
FIRST BOER CAMPS
LINE OF ATTACK
Path to Boer Camps
Neck Path
Spruit flowing through Boer Camps
SECOND FLANK ATTACK
THIRD LINE OF ATTACK
FOURTH FLANK ATTACK
BRITISH CEMETERY
REAR & FINAL ATTACK OF BOERS
To Mount Prospect
PATH
ascended by British Forces
110 Feet to Inch November. 1881
PLAN OF
the
Amajuba Top, 6200 Ft above the Sea
DRAWN TO SCALE FROM ACTUAL
MEASUREMENT BY
Chas L. Norris-Newman
Total Area about 43/4 acres
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W
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interment to Mount Prospect. On the same date, at midnight, General Wood left Newcastle, with a squadron of the 15th Hussars and two companies of the 92nd, on a reconnoitring expedition, with Messrs. Leathern and Faweus as guides. The General took the road to Wakkerstrom, and left the two companies of infantry at the Utrecht Drift, on the Buffalo River, as a support if necessary. From there the patrol rode on to within a few miles of Wakkerstrom—then besieged—visited a deserted Boer laager, and returned in the afternoon unmolested, after having ridden nearly seventy miles. At Mount Prospect, on the same evening, they had a night alarm, a volley from the Boers being heard in advance of the outposts. The alarm was quickly sounded, and all sprang to their posts; but there was no further firing, and the men turned in again. On the next day a force of Boers was seen at Schuin's Hooghte, and a vedette was fired upon and his horse killed. Sir George Colley inspected the "Indian Column" on the 21st, expressing himself as proud to be in command of such a fine body of old soldiers; adding that, if he had the choice of the whole army, he would not have preferred any other regiments. He warned them against under-estimating their enemy, who fought and shot well; and said that although the regiments then at the front were young, yet the men had fought and died gallantly. The men turned out, looking well, and his address was enthusiastically received.

The next morning, at 2 A.M., the Column moved out of Newcastle, the 97th having been ordered up from Ladysmith, and the 83rd Mounted Infantry and 6th Dragoons being also on the road. No Boer force was met with, and they reached Mount Prospect that evening with their convoy of 150 waggons, containing stores, provisions and ammunition. The 3-60th were sent from Mount Prospect to the Ingogo to meet the Column, and some troops were afterwards posted there, with two 9-pounders under Lieutenant Connolly, R.A., to establish a fort and entrenched position on the heights. After the departure of the Column, General Wood left Newcastle for Pietermaritzburg, in order to arrange for the coming up of the other reinforcements, and the 2-60th returned to Newcastle with a convoy of empty

waggons. In passing, De Nel's house, situated at the bottom of Schuin's Hooghte, was burnt by the soldiers, the owner, it was said, having joined the Boers and given them assistance and information. This was the only excess committed by the British troops in Natal, during this campaign at any rate. On the 24th, General Colley left Mount Prospect camp with all the cavalry and two 9-pounders, and ascended a high hill to the right of the camp, from which he obtained a good view of the Boer camp and defences. After his return the Boers sent a strong force to the same hill, but they were shelled off it by the two 9-pounders at 5,800 yards' range. Two Dutch farmers, named Niekerk and Adendorff, were arrested as spies, but released again quickly after being questioned. The day following scouts brought in a report that the Boers were in force to the rear of the camp; and a detachment under Major Fraser, consisting of a squadron of Hussars, two companies of the 92nd, under Major Hay, and part of the Naval Brigade, with a Gatling, under Commander Romilly, moved out in that direction, but came across none of the enemy, who, however, later on showed themselves in strength to the right of the camp, though at a considerable distance. Peace negotiations were still going on between the Home Government, President Brand, and General Colley, and a telegram was sent on the 25th as follows:—"From the High Commissioner, Mount Prospect, to President Brand, Bloemfontein.—Lord Kimberley desires me to thank your Honour for the friendly offer, which Her Majesty's Government will not fail to bear in mind, if the answer received from Kruger leads to the appointment of a Commission." Heavy fighting occurred at Wakkerstrom about this time, resulting in the British holding their own.

On Saturday evening, February 26, General Colley moved out of the camp at Mount Prospect on a secret expedition, taking with him a compact force consisting of two companies of the 58th Regiment, two companies of the 3-60th, two companies of the 92nd Highlanders, the Naval Brigade, two guns and some Hussars; two more companies of the 3-60th leaving later with more reserve ammunition, but they were not in the engagement. Their destination was kept quite secret until the

moment of starting, when it became known that the object of the expedition was the ascent and occupation of a high hill called the Amajuba or Spitzkop, to the left of the British camp, and completely overlooking and commanding the Boer camps and line of defences on the flat beyond Lang's Nek. The 3-60th were left at a difficult pass, on a ridge at the bottom of the mountain, together with all the horses, reserve ammunition, and the Hussars; and the guns were sent back to camp, as it was seen that it would be impossible to get them up to the top by any means whatever. The force had with them three days' rations and seventy rounds per man, and great things were expected to result from the success of the expedition. Guided by Kaffirs, the troops in single file toiled up the hill, which was in parts so steep and difficult that the men had to crawl on their hands and knees, and in others across deep dongas and over great boulders. The top was only reached just before daylight, after six hours' hard and dangerous climbing. Major Fraser, R.E., who had been appointed second in command under the General, was the first man up, and was followed by the General and his Staff. When daylight broke, the men began to get their breakfasts and dig wells for water. Down below great excitement was seen among the Boers, and at a very early hour they removed a waggon laager, which lay well under fire from the British, away from the bottom of the hill to a position out of range, as they thought the troops had also big guns with them.

Recovering from their surprise an attack was soon decided upon by the Boers, and a strong mounted force was told off by Joubert to ascend the hill. They rode up to the bottom in their appointed places, and there dismounting, spread out in skirmishing order, and began to ascend the hill in three columns, from the North, East and West; while a larger body remained below, firing at the soldiers who showed themselves on the crest, and another was despatched round the base of the hill to cut off the retreat, and force the position held by the companies of the 3-60th, at the bottom of the Amajuba on the road to Mount Prospect camp. Firing began about 5 A.M., and continued steadily from both sides until about 11.30. A com-

pany of the 92nd Highlanders, left on a lower plateau, who had entrenched themselves, were also early engaged with musketry fire; and the small force, holding the top in extended order, hastily collected together a few rocks and stones, and made a kind of parapet round the front of the North crest of the hill, in order to gain a little protection from the heavy and accurate fire kept up by the Boer sharpshooters below, which was intended to cover the silent and gradual advance of the three storming parties, who got up almost unseen on the right and left flank by means of dongas or ravines and rocky bush-covered ground. Communication by signalling was kept up all the while by General Colley with the camp, and most hopeful telegrams were transmitted. Commander Romilly, of the Naval Brigade, was the first officer wounded, being shot in the abdomen while reconnoitring the attacking parties with General Colley. All the Staff, including Colonel H. Stewart, Major Fraser and Captain MacGregor, were most active and inspiriting, and kept the men's firing steady and their spirits up. The further details of the fight were so ably and vividly given by Mr. Carter, in his telegram to the *Times of Natal*, that I cannot do better than reproduce them here. After describing the start, arrival at the top, and subsequent events up to noon, he continued:—

"It was about one o'clock that of a sudden a most terrific fire came from our left. Immediately every available man of reserves was hurried up to meet it, and they answered it well for ten minutes. There were men of the Naval Brigade, Highlanders, and 58th Regiment all firing as best they could—perhaps fifty in all against 200 Boers. The Boer fire was now very telling; our men were shot right and left at this point as they exposed themselves. No man could show his head without a dozen shots being fired at him. In ten or fifteen minutes the men wavered and broke, but in answer to shouts of officers—'Rally on your right!' (that would bring them more to the left rear, where the General and about fifty men were)—they did rally and came up to the crest of the hill at the point I indicate. Colonel Stewart, Major Fraser, Captain MacGregor—Staff officers—and indeed every officer present, now, revolver and sword in hand, encouraged the men by word and action. The whole of the Boer fire was now concentrated on our present and last point of defence on the left rear. Crowded as our men were by the necessity of finding cover at all behind this small clump of stones on the ridge, the officers called and directed them to deploy slightly right and left, to prevent us being flanked on our direct rear. The other side of the hollow basin was at this time only held by some fifteen or twenty men, our direct front by a score more, but they sent word to say that there were not many Boers there.

In our direct rear the ground was so precipitous that no one could scale it. To the front it was also free to a certain extent of cover for the enemy. The Boers had evidently made up their mind to take points of the crest in detail, and now all their efforts were concentrated on the left. Major Fraser sang out, 'Men of the 92nd, don't forget your bayonets!' Colonel Stewart added, 'And the 58th;' and 'the Naval Brigade' came from another officer—Captain MacGregor, I think—the General at the same time directing movements as coolly as if at a review. The men did fix their bayonets, and standing shoulder to shoulder in a semicircle, poured volleys back for the volleys fired by the enemy. Numbers of our poor fellows now fell, and they could not be carried far, for there was no shelter of any great safety to take them to. The stand made at this last stage lasted perhaps ten minutes, and then our men fell short of ammunition. It must be remembered that there were only the seventy rounds carried by our men in their pouches (the reserves being below and unavailable). At the same time a party of Boers crept up to the two score of men holding our true front and extreme right and rear, and they poured in volleys at the little band of defenders, who fixed bayonets and charged down on the enemy. Perhaps not more than three or four ever came within thrusting distance, so hot was the fire on them as they charged the twenty yards separating them from their foes. To return again to where the General and Staff and main body were, now not more than 100, of our men, the officers still encouraged the men 'to fire low,' and only when the Boers jumped up to pour a volley in. 'Give them the bayonet next time after they have fired,' was the last command I heard given, and in a moment our poor fellows broke and rushed for the crest in our rear. I ran with them, being only four or five yards behind the line that had made the last stand. How any one gained the ridge at the rear and escaped to camp, down the precipice there, a fall of thirty feet clear, and then on and over enormous boulders and bush, a good quarter of a mile further yet to go before the foot of the hill was reached under the bullets that rained on us from all sides—I don't know. Four men dropped by my side as I ran with the crowd across the basin, before even reaching the head of the precipice. Fortunately there was a kind of heather growing out of the side of the precipice. I can now only speak for myself, and I managed to save myself from injury in jumping down by catching at this herb. Then immediately I found I was with two or three others, who came after me, exposed to a dreadful fire as we scrambled over the rocks. The bullets rained on the stones, and several poor fellows, panting and bleeding, were struck as they tried to scramble away. I determined to give up running, as I could tell by the way the bullets came that Boers were all round us, though I could not see them myself, having thought best to follow a donga shrouded in bush, taking shelter as best I could in a dry gulley covered with slabs of rock. I determined to wait till nightfall, and then try to reach camp. All the while, and for at least half an hour after we had made a rush away, the bullets of the enemy pelted incessantly in the bush and on the rocks in every direction, as I could hear by the sound; then I heard big guns firing, and took hope, thinking a party from camp with artillery had been pushed to the base of the hill to cover the flight of the fugitives. Half a dozen shots from big guns, and the fire of the Boers above my head and right and left ceased, and I heard a voice speaking in English and several others in Dutch close round us. Knowing that they must be searching for their enemies, I came out of my hiding-place and sang out to them. They asked, 'Have you any gun?' My reply was, 'No,

I have no gun, I am no soldier.' 'Then come up here, we will not shoot you.' I accepted the invitation, and clambering back up the rocks through the bush, saw a gentleman who said he was a Field-Cornet. I told him my business, and asked to see the General. Hearing an English voice, a dozen of our poor fellows who had been hiding within twenty yards of me sang out for help, and I told them to come out, as the Boers would not hurt them. Crawling as best they could (every one was wounded), they clambered up, delivered up their arms—those that had them—and we all went to the crest again, finding on the way Lieutenant Hill, of the 58th, with his arm injured by a bullet wound, but as cheerful under the misfortune and as quiet as though nothing was the matter. This is the gentleman who distinguished himself by carrying wounded from under fire at Lang's Nek. Seeing Mr. Smid, their General, I told him who I was. He said there had been six correspondents to him already. But there happened to be only a correspondent of the *Daily News*, *Standard*, and myself in this action. I showed my pass and got leave to return to camp, on condition I would send them a copy of my account of the fight. First he asked, 'Who is the officer killed?' I said, 'Take me to him, and I will tell you if I can.' I accompanied him to the spot where our final stand was made. There lay a body—its face covered with a helmet—but by the clothing I recognized it at once. Lifting the helmet up, I made sure that it was our poor General, the bravest of the brave; a gentleman who had shown me many kindnesses since I have been in camp here; and a Commander who was loved and admired by every man under him, from highest to lowest. Knowing I would be first to carry this sad news back to camp, I wanted some token to bear out my information, but could find none about the body, save a white handkerchief, and that not marked. The Boers doubted me when I said 'It is the General.' But when they questioned me again and again, 'Do you know him? Are you sure you know him?' I replied, 'I give you my word of honour it is General Colley,' they were satisfied. No word of exultation escaped their lips when they learnt this. I said, 'You have killed the bravest gentleman on this field,' and they answered, 'Yes, he fought well.' One man said, 'He was a very nice gentleman; he dined in my house when he went to Pretoria;' and said another, 'He did not think we were wrong, but he was a soldier and he must obey orders.' Others remarked, 'It was no use fighting against men who had right on their side.' Round the General lay the dead and wounded, Commander Romilly, Naval Brigade, and Captain Maude (lately joined the 58th) were among the former; but I hurried away with the guide and the white flag past the enemy's vedettes, and accompanied by Cameron, of the *Standard*, whom we picked up on the way down. Our guide took us safely outside the Boer lines, down the road we came up previously. Before we got far, we saw the Boers on horseback, to the number of 200 or 300, galloping round the base of our hill to the laager made by the Highlanders at the foot. Shots were exchanged, and then the guns at camp opened on the Boers, and kept them in check until the garrison of the laager had fallen back on camp, defiling through a narrow pass. This we saw as we descended the rocky slope. And also, still more painful, we saw at every twenty or thirty paces our poor fellows either dead or wounded. They dotted the ground as far as the last ridge we passed. Poor Captain Morris, of the 58th, attended by his servant, was wounded in the shoulder. Cameron and I hurried on, anxious to give the information we had, so that help might be sent to the suffering. A mile from camp, Cameron knocked up, and I trudged on, promising

to send a horse for him. Close to camp an artilleryman coming out gave me his horse to ride, and so I arrived at camp."

The same Correspondent telegraphed later on, after revisiting the field of battle :—

"Sir George Colley was shot just at the close of the engagement, while giving orders to cease firing. The bullet struck him on the forehead. His helmet has been brought to camp, but the body is supposed to be still lying where he fell. No reliable news yet of the Staff officers. None have returned to camp, except Major Fraser, R.E. Rain now falling heavily for hours, and sufferings of wounded lying on the field something indescribable. I met Major Hay, who was shot through the leg and arm. He was got into camp with great difficulty. Our loss must be very heavy indeed, because the number returned is so small. I think there must be at least 300 killed and wounded. The Boer loss is admitted by our officers to have been slight."

And again :—

"Mount Prospect, February 28, 5.20 P.M.—Dr. Mahon, just returned to camp, says, as an eye-witness, that the General was first wounded, then a Boer, within four paces, shot him through the head. The sight presented to my view confirms the statement that the shot was fired close. I had an interview this morning at the Nek with President Joubert and his Staff. With him was Aylward, late editor of the *Natal Witness*. Cameron, of the *Standard*, who was with me, gave Aylward advice not to get caught, or it would be an unlucky day for him. This was after words had passed between Aylward and Cameron, the former making himself the mouthpiece of Joubert. I asked Aylward his capacity; he said he was Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* and Surgeon to Wounded there. Joubert told us he had nothing to say that he wanted publishing. He had for three years been writing to England to prevent war, but it was useless. He was quite willing that the Transvaal should be a party to Confederation, but they must have their liberty. Now they must fight for it. The English would, no doubt, fight to show their supremacy, but they must first kill all the Boers. Joubert confirmed figures already given by Boers as to killed and wounded and fighting men on their side at Schuin's Hooghte. He said yesterday Boers only had one killed and five wounded. Nothing known at Nek of either Colonel Stewart or Major Fraser. Note from Ritchie received while we were there, asking for body of General. Advised by Aylward, Joubert thought Ritchie not proper person to make request, and sent back message by us to say if body was sent for by Head Officer of the Camp it would be delivered up."

Upon seeing the melancholy result from the camp at Mount Prospect, the camp was hastily fortified at every corner, under command of Colonel Bond, 58th, the senior officer, and the news sent off to Newcastle, when the 2-60th was ordered out at once to the front without baggage. Captain Vibart began firing on the pursuing Boers with his 9-pounders, thus being of great service in protecting the retreat of the company of the 92nd, left below, the two companies 3-60th, who had also to fall back from their temporary laager, as well as the numerous

stragglers coming from all parts of the mountain. At five P.M. the firing ceased, the remaining troops having got back to camp; and Surgeon-Major Babington went out, with a flag of truce and a small hospital party, to succour and bring in the wounded, who were well treated by the Boers themselves. Rain came on during the night and lasted until next day. Meanwhile the Medical Staff had established a temporary hospital at a farm-house at the bottom of the mountain, and throughout the wet dark night never ceased to search for and bring in the wounded. Captain Romilly, R.N., was found not dead, but on being brought to Mount Prospect, he died the next day; as also did Surgeon-Major Cornish and Surgeon Landon. All Monday and Tuesday burying parties were out doing their sad work; and the wounded were brought back to Mount Prospect, the lighter cases being sent on to Newcastle, whence, immediately on receipt of the news of the fight, Surgeon-Major Roe, S.M.O., had despatched six ambulances, with Surgeons Gormley, McGann, and Smith, six A.H.C. men, and a large supply of stores, to Mount Prospect. For several days the exact loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners could not be ascertained; but of those who did not get away unwounded or were taken prisoners, only Major Fraser, R.E., escaped, after two days' adventurous travelling, without food, and a narrow escape from capture. The following official notice was issued on March 1, 1881:—"Number of troops engaged in action of 27th ult.: 35 officers, 693 men. Casualties. Officers—killed, 3; wounded, 9; prisoners, 7; missing, 1. Non-commissioned officers and men—killed, 82; wounded, 122; prisoners, 50; missing, but believed to be wounded not yet brought into camp, 12. Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart is a prisoner—not wounded. Surgeon-Major Cornish died this day; also Surgeon Landon and Lieutenant Trower, R.N." The list of the killed, wounded and prisoners will be found in Appendix I.

Subsequently a party was sent with a note from the Commanding Officer to the Boer camp, and the body of poor Sir George Colley was brought into Mount Prospect Camp on the morning of March 1st, and, after identification, was buried, near to Colonel Deane, with full military honours. The body was conveyed from camp on a gun-carriage to the Military Cemetery,

followed by all the officers in camp and detachments from all the regiments. The service was conducted by the Rev. M. Ritchie—the pall bearers being Colonels Bond, Ashburnham, and Parker, Majors Ogilvie and Elmes, Captains Vibart and Smith, and Lieutenant Brotherton. The loss of the General in action was deeply felt by the troops, and even throughout the Colony of which he had been so popular and able a Governor. Addresses of condolence were sent to Lady Colley by the Town Councils of Pietermaritzburg and Durban, and also by the Boer leaders themselves.

General Sir E. Wood, immediately on the receipt of the news of this reverse, on the morning after the engagement, left Pietermaritzburg by special conveyance, and reached the camp on March 3rd. And a few days afterwards the annexed appeared in General Orders:—

"Head-quarters, Pietermaritzburg, 10th of March, 1881.—The following General Order, dated Army Head-quarters, Newcastle, 8th of March, 1881, is published for information:—The Major-General Commanding Her Majesty's Naval and Military Forces in South-East Africa has only this day received an official report of the events of the 26th and 27th of February, from the Senior Effective Officer, Major Fraser, Royal Engineers, who accompanied the late Major-General Sir G. Pomeroy Colley, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G., to the Majuba Mountain. Her Most Gracious Majesty and Her Government have fully acknowledged the heavy loss sustained by the nation in the death of our General and of the many noble sailors and soldiers who fell with him. His temporary successor records the conviction that the fall of a valued and distinguished friend is deeply mourned by all who have ever served with him. Had Sir G. Pomeroy Colley lived he would have explained to those under his command the causes of our repulse, and would have eulogised the conduct of those who bore themselves bravely in a disastrous fight. This duty now devolves on Sir Evelyn Wood. It appears to him that some three hundred of our men, exhausted by a long and very difficult night march, were assailed by overwhelming numbers. Nevertheless, the fighting line did not retire until it had lost heavily, and had nearly expended its ammunition. The General died with his face to the foe, then only twenty yards distant, and many of his comrades of all ranks evinced conspicuous gallantry. (Signed) Evelyn Wood, Major-General Commanding Forces."

Here I may be permitted to add that a memorial stone was prepared in Natal, by Messrs. Jesse Smith & Son, by Lady Colley's orders, in the shape of a plain cross, about three feet high, on a pedestal and steps, and was taken up and erected over the grave of Sir George, as he had previously expressed his wish that his body should be allowed to remain where he

fell if fated to die on the battle-field. The inscription on the pedestal runs—

IN MEMORY OF
SIR GEORGE POMEROY COLLEY, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G.,
H.M. Commissioner for S.E. Africa,
Major-General Commanding Forces.
Born 1st of November, 1835,
Killed in Action on the Amajuba Mountain, Sunday, 27th of Feb., 1881.

On the right side are the words—

"This Cross is placed here by his Wife."

And on the left side of the stone—

"Oh! for Thy voice to soothe and bless,
What hope of answer or redress,
Behind the veil, behind the veil!"

On the back of the stone are the words—

"Interred here, 1st of March, 1881."

The following lines, written at the time and published in a local paper, form an eloquent requiem to Sir George Colley's life, and therefore need no apology for their insertion here :—

GEORGE POMEROY COLLEY,
GOVERNOR OF NATAL.
Killed in Action, Sunday, February 27, 1881.

"Yes, he fought well." So spake the little knot
Of foemen, gathered round an outstretched form,
Which on the blood-stained turf lay motionless
Where the last stand was made, and where—at length—
The few survivors of his gallant band
Cast down their useless rifles in despair.
'Twas here God's angel, with a hand of ice
Touched him, and said: "Thy Master calleth thee."

But six short months agone we welcomed him,
Trusting—for all was calm before the storm—
His stay amongst us might be fraught with good
For us, and happy for himself and her,
With whom, alas, we mourn! In that brief space
He gained the hearts of many, the esteem of all.
And now the whirlwind, which deceit did sow,
Hath him for victim and hath lain him low.

* * * *

He needs no tears, who in the van
And fore-front of the fight
Met death as should a gentleman
Upon Majuba's Height.

Critics (he's dead) will carp and hiss,
Show how he failed, and why;
But when they prate, bethink you this,
"Could they like Colley die?"

Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent a telegram to the Colonial Secretary of Natal, saying:—"Monday, February 28.—I have heard, with every regret, of the death of Sir George Pomeroy Colley, whose administration of the Natal Government, during his tenure of office, has been most able and judicious."—And Her Majesty the Queen also herself telegraphed personally to Lady Colley.

Sir Evelyn Wood was at once proclaimed Administrator and Deputy High Commissioner; and strong reinforcements were ordered from England and India, while Sir Frederick Roberts was appointed to the Command-in-Chief, and sailed on the Friday following. Colonel Redvers H. Buller, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., who had previously been appointed Chief of the Staff to General Wood, arrived in Natal at this time, and hastened on to Newcastle to join his chief. The 7th and 14th Hussars were ordered out, the first from home and the last from India; while the 99th, 85th, five Companies of the 102nd, three other Infantry Regiments, 10th, 26th, and 41st, a Battery of Artillery, and another Cavalry Regiment were ordered from home to Natal; and a Naval Brigade of 1,000 men from the Detached Squadron at the Cape was also promised if necessary. Sir Evelyn Wood was made a Major-General; and it was announced that Major-General Newdigate would accompany General Roberts out to Natal, to command a Brigade.

Having only recently had the opportunity of interviewing many of the officers who held minor commands of the detached posts on the fatal day of Amajuba, I am now enabled to add, to the official and personal statements of the actual occurrences at the top of the mountain, a clear and consecutive account of what took place below on the Inquela Ridge and the intermediate plateau; and in justice to those among them who deserve the credit, I am only too glad to be able to relate the truth, as proved by the corroborative statements of nearly all, both officers and men, with whom I have talked on the subject. The night

march having been arranged on the Saturday evening, the troops chosen for the little column—unfortunately detachments from three Regiments instead of one battalion of any one regiment being taken—fell in at the time appointed; the two companies of the 58th leading, then the Naval Brigade, the three companies of the 92nd, and lastly, the two companies of the 3-60th. They took a southerly course for a time, and then turned to the right or westward, until reaching a small Kaffir track which wound along the East side of the Inquela range. On arrival there, at about 10.30 P.M., the two companies of the 3-60th, under Captains Smith and Henley were dropped, *with no orders* or idea of the plan of the march, beyond the fact that they were told to stop there, keeping a careful look-out. The rest of the force then proceeded in total darkness and over a very rough road, until about midnight the plateau under the Amajuba Mountain was reached. A short halt was here made in order to allow a company of the 92nd (the rear one) to come up, having fallen behind. It having been determined by the General to leave a company here in charge of the Staff horses, spare ammunition and mules, carrying about fifteen to twenty thousand rounds, Captain Robertson's company was called out for the purpose, and they were moved about 100 yards to the right of the path by Major Fraser, R.E.; the General giving the orders himself to Captain P. F. Robertson that they were to remain there, and "dig as good a trench as time would permit of," selecting a good position so as to afford cover for the horses and ammunition left in their charge. Captain Robertson, upon trying to get some idea of the plan of action, did not succeed, and naturally enough felt somewhat in the dark as to the "why and the wherefore." He did the best he could under the circumstances, throwing out a large chain of sentries right round the position, and a patrol of four men and a non-commissioned officer on the path leading back to the camp in order to look out for and guide in a company of the 60th, which was to come on later, though for what purpose was not stated. The column then moved on again, with the General and his Staff in front. The men left behind were of course tired and sleepy, but had immediately to start working

at the entrenchments, and succeeded in a few hours in throwing up an earthwork or laager facing the mountain, with the entrance at the rear and a slight flank trench thrown out on the left front extending only a few yards. Just before daylight the other company of the 3-60th arrived, under the command of Captain Thurlow, with Lieutenants Pigott and Howard-Vyse. Surgeon-Major Cornish accompanied them with some mules laden with hospital requirements. Captain Thurlow had also received no orders, beyond being told to go to the plateau, and had brought out his men without either greatcoats or rations. A comparison of commissions took place, when it was found that Captain Robertson was the senior officer, and he therefore took command of the two companies. Captain Thurlow, his officers and men, were of great assistance in completing the little laager; and that done, the men awaited daylight and further enlightenment, with some little anxiety.

At about 5.30 o'clock Assistant-Commissary General Elwes returned from the General's party on his road to the camp, and promised to send out their rations; and quickly afterwards a Conductor Field arrived from the camp with a led mule, laden with stores, &c., for the Staff; and having received his orders (a peculiar circumstance that day), was determined to proceed to try and reach the top of the mountain at once. He was naturally enough dissuaded, as day was breaking and they were close to the enemy. However, he went on, and a short time after a shot was heard, and it turned out that Conductor Field and his mule were captured by the Boers. When day had thoroughly broken figures of men were seen moving about on the top of the Amajuba, distant about fifteen hundred yards, and with the aid of glasses they were made out to be part of General Colley's force. On looking round another party was seen on the Inquela Ridge, signalling to Captain Robertson who at once asked, "Who are you?" and the answer came back, "Two companies 60th, left out all night." They were asked with what orders? and they replied, "None." Dropping shots were occasionally heard from the mountain, and later on small bodies of mounted Boers were seen reconnoitring the British positions. After ten o'clock the firing increased and,

then up came a troop of the 15th Hussars under Captain G. D. F. Sullivan and Lieutenants Pocklington and Hopkins (9th Lancers, attached). They brought with them the rations of the company of the 60th, but *no orders*. Again were commissions compared, and again was Captain Robertson the senior; so he ordered the men to dismount, and placed them under cover on the slope to the rear of the laager, until after-events justified a movement. After midday the firing and excitement on the Amajuba increased rapidly, and figures were seen running down the Hill towards the laager. Some Hussars were mounted at once, and pushed forwards to find out what was going on. Presently one of them came back with a wounded soldier of the 58th, who said the Boers had captured the position, and either killed or taken prisoners nearly all the men. He also added that the General was dead, lying on his back with a bullet through his head, and his revolver, with one barrel empty, lying beside him.

His words were quickly borne out by several other wounded men being rapidly brought in by the Hussars, who either dismounted themselves, giving their horses to those retreating, or carried the fugitives in front of them. The services thus rendered were incalculable, and deserve every credit. Surgeon-Major Cornish had now plenty of work, and the wounded were laid down and attended to as quickly as possible. One of the first into the laager was an officer, who apparently seemed badly wounded, but who, on examination, was found quite unharmed, and was very anxious to return to the camp. Captain Robertson, after some persuasion, which was, however, of no avail, let him go, and saw no more of him that day.

It was becoming evident that the position of the little garrison which held the laager was precarious, as they were too far off to assist those on the top of the mountain, and not near enough the camp to move without some assistance from there; while, as to the two companies of the 3-60th, left on the Inquela Ridge, it was thought best to send over to them and acquaint them with what had happened, so that they might strengthen the laager and assist in keeping back the now fast advancing Boer ranks, and help to secure the retreat of the wounded, until orders were sent to them or could be obtained

as to what combined course of action was necessary, and the best. With this view, and not knowing whether the officer in command was senior to him or not, Captain Robertson sent Lieutenant Pocklington, of the 15th Hussars, to explain matters and ask for assistance; for, from their position, the retreat of the 60th was not cut off, nor their post likely to be attacked. However, Lieutenant Pocklington brought back the reply that the two companies of the 3-60th could not move from their position, having no orders—as if, under the then circumstances of the defeat of the main column, the fact of their having, or not having, orders ought to have made any difference, or prevented their taking such individual steps as would best help to protect the retreat of the wounded, check the Boer advance, and assist their own company, then being attacked by a large force of the enemy. It was, undoubtedly, a great opportunity lost of giving the Boers a severe check; for, had this laager been held by the four companies until the guns and cavalry could have been brought out from camp to their assistance, the moral effect of the defeat of General Colley's force on the mountain top might have been, to a great extent, counteracted, if not effaced.

After this refusal to come to their assistance, Captains Robertson, Thurlow, and Sullivan, and their officers, prepared for a vigorous resistance. The left and rear faces were given to the 60th, and the front and right to the 92nd, while opened ammunition-boxes were placed at equal intervals behind the men right round the laager, and orders were sent out to the advanced sentries to hold any advancing force of the enemy in check as long as they could, until absolutely driven to fall back on the entrenchment. Meanwhile, the mules, with the spare ammunition, were sent off quietly, one by one—not together, with an escort, as laid down by the Rules and Regulations—so as not to draw the attention of the enemy, down the ravine to the right of the laager, where they were almost out of sight, and from the bottom of which, where a little stream flowed across, the camp could be easily and quickly reached. Thus, through Captain Robertson's foresight, care and skill, the whole of the spare ammunition was saved, and

got back to camp all right. The firing on the top of the hill ceased almost suddenly, when a large number of Boers was seen on the top, waiting for something, and not descending at once to the attack of the laager, as was expected. This, however, was only a momentary lull in the storm, as the quickened firing from the sentries on the left flank showed; and the outposts were soon driven back on their supports by the advance of a large body of mounted men, to the number of several hundreds, who were evidently co-operating with those on the Amajuba, and with another body which showed itself towards the right front, coming on so as to cut off the retreat of the men to the camp. The firing now became really heavy and sustained, and the men began to fall fast; while the Hussars were sent out on the right flank to check the Boer flank movement. In this state of things, and seeing no evidence of a supporting movement from the camp, Captain Robertson telegraphed for orders, and received the answer, "If no orders from the hill above (Amajuba), retire, watching from left flank." Nothing could be more absurd and inexplicable than such an order; for if Captain Robertson retired, he would naturally do so fighting, and with his men's faces to the enemy; and in that case his left flank would be to the rear of the laager, from which point no attack was ever attempted or made.

Upon receipt of this order, Captain Robertson decided to send off the company of the Rifles, with orders to draw up at the bottom of the ravine before mentioned, and there await the coming of the 92nd Highlanders, who would then fall back further and await in their turn the retreat of the Rifles, thus, as it were, retreating and covering by alternate companies. The order to retire came almost too late, as the Boers were approaching very close, and in increasing numbers. Some of the men lost their presence of mind, and a few of the Naval Brigade, who had retreated from the Amajuba, would not move for some time. These men, I may mention, on arrival at the laager, were offered ammunition by Captain Robertson, but declined, saying they had plenty. This was a fact, for their pouches were nearly full! The wounded were also got off, as well as could be done, previously to the retirement. But

after the 60th had left, Captain Robertson found he could hardly check the Boer advance much longer with his few men; so at last he gave the word to go, having previously explained to them that the 60th would cover their retreat upon arrival at the bottom of the ravine. A murderous fire followed the men, for, so soon as the Boers got to the laager, they could look down the donga and pick off the men as they liked. Captain Robertson was the last to leave, and then volley after volley was poured down on the retreating men, so that it is a wonder to those who escaped that day how they managed it. It was in this retreat that poor Cornish was killed, for, seeing a man struck dead who was carrying one end of a stretcher upon which was a wounded man, he took his place, the piper to the company being the other man. The Boers called out to them, "Who are you?" and he foolishly answered wounded men, instead of saying a doctor; upon which, and seeing him carry a rifle (which belonged, however, to the wounded man he was assisting to carry), the Boers fired on them, and killed Surgeon-Major Cornish and the wounded man. The piper escaped to tell the story. Upon the arrival of the fugitives at the bottom, much to their disappointment, nothing was to be seen of the company of the 60th, who, it came out afterwards, could not be controlled or kept together again during the retreat by their officers. It now became a case of *sauve qui peut*, until the Artillery opened from the camp and some more Hussars came out. One of the shells burst among the Highlanders and killed four or five before the right range was got. Second Lieutenant Staunton, of the 92nd, was captured by the Boers, together with twenty-two others, while four were killed in the defence of the laager and eleven wounded. Captain Robertson only got back to camp at about five o'clock, P.M., and there found the other companies of the 60th had been in some time. Further comment on the above facts is useless. Captain Robertson's important report of that day's work was duly handed to the Staff officer at Mount Prospect Camp, but was never sent in to the General until enquiry was made for it, when it was found carefully pigeon-holed —of course, forgotten by mistake! It is, however, a singular

fact that the Staff officer concerned—and who was spoken of in the report—was shortly afterwards sent to another station, and that, even up to this time, no word of thanks or reward have been given to the gallant conduct of the commanding officer, who held his post so well, and saved all the spare ammunition, which the Boers afterwards said they felt perfectly sure of capturing.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ARMISTICE.

Joubert's Telegram to Brand—His Report of Amajuba—Major Frazer's Escape—General Wood and Swazie Envoy—Joubert and Brand and Wood—First Conference—Armistice and Terms agreed upon—Details of Interview—Boer Demands—Troops moving up—Changes at the Front—Lady Colley comes up—Interviewing General Joubert—Special's Arrival in Boer Camp—His Reception—Joubert's Views—Treatment and Departure—Extension of Armistice—Arrival of Paul Kruger—Interview on 18th—President Brand's Arrival—Meetings of the 21st and 23rd—Peace Made—Boers Trek—Return of Sir Evelyn Wood and President Brand to Newcastle.

In the previous chapter I have given, as concisely as I could, the actual occurrences from the British side in the Amajuba fight; but, before proceeding with the conclusion of peace and after events, I think it both fair and interesting to reproduce a telegram sent from Joubert to President Brand, and also a report of the former to Vice-President Kruger, after the fight. The telegram was as follows :—

"Your letter received about peace negotiations nearly lulled me into unwise unsuspiciousness. General Colley attacked on Sunday morning whilst we were writing to you and him. He attacked on our right, and got possession of high natural fortress, built schanzes, and dug wells. The Boers gallantly stormed, and in five hours totally defeated the British forces. The Governor was shot dead; seven officers and one company of soldiers are in our hands. The prisoners will negotiate, but not make submission or cease opposition."

And the report :—

"I was sitting writing copies of President Brand's letters and also a letter to (Colonel) Herbert Stuart. At four o'clock I woke every man up to his position, and I commenced a report for General Cronje. I was still sitting writing, and the sun had just risen, when it was reported to me that the troops were coming up the right-hand hill. Then it was 'to saddle, to saddle.' but to our astonishment we saw that the enemy had entire possession of the hill, and that already a considerable number were on the summit. Apparently, one would have thought that everything

was lost to us, and so it would actually have been if they had retained possession of the hill; but, beyond all our expectations, the Lord assisted us, and we all ascribe it to the most wonderful deliverances and help by an all-governing and mighty God. Our men climbed the mountain with a courage and energy beyond description. The troops, under the personal command of General Colley, would not surrender the position. They fought like true heroes, but our God gave us the victory, and protected us, and we excelled gloriously in acts of courage and tact. The most wonderful thing to us is that on our side only one was killed, and so far as it has come to my knowledge one severely wounded, and four slightly. The one killed is Johannes Bekker, Middelburg District. The wounded are Groenwold—who died afterwards—Van der Merwe, Muller, Labuschagne, and Vermaak. The dead on the other side are not accurately known, through the unevenness of the ground, but can be estimated at more than 100. It is unknown how many officers fell with General Colley; nearly twenty severely wounded, and more slightly. Seven officers, forty-five men and a sergeant have been made prisoners, which prisoners I have been compelled to send to you at Middelburg. I hear that the English have been reinforced by 2,000. The soldiers who fought against us were—part of the 92nd Highlanders, two companies of the 58th Regiment, and some of the 60th Rifles. The cannon were not brought within range, but fired upon our men from the camp when they stormed the last schanz. I have now so much to do that I cannot write more. Therefore I conclude with wishing your Honour joy at the successful issue of to-day's battle, and that this day may be considered for the future a day of thanksgiving and prayer."

These reports from the Boer side, together with the following details from Major Frazer's description of the battle, will be found all that is necessary to perfectly understand and follow the fight on both sides from beginning to end. From Major Frazer's statement it appears that, when daylight broke, the Boers discovered the position, and opened fire, but of a desultory character, which our men returned quietly. About noon it became evident to the General that the Boers meditated attacking the position we then held by a rush similar to that made at the Ingogo fight. Colonel Stuart, with Major Frazer, and Lieutenant Lucy, of the 58th, who behaved splendidly, took the reserve forward into shooting line, whence, after a short time, it had to be returned back to the central ridge, where it was arranged to make a final stand. The Boers came on in large numbers, keeping up a steady fire, which told heavily among our forces. When this detachment retired back to the central ridge, General Colley stood in the right centre, with Stuart next to him, and Frazer on the left. The firing became so heavy that the men fell away from the position. This was not to be wondered at,

considering the tremendous volleys the enemy kept pouring in upon them. Stuart ran back to rally the men on the last ridge of the hill, and succeeded well. The men kept together, and made a most determined stand, but to no purpose. They were flanked and shot down on all sides. Sword in hand stood the General, who fell, shot fair in the centre of the forehead. Major Frazer then moved to the south-west corner of the ridge, the Boers continuing heavy firing. The distance between them then was certainly not more than fifty yards. Our men retiring towards the camp suffered heavily beneath the continuous fire the enemy kept up. Major Frazer suddenly lost his footing, slipped, fell, and rolled down a sheer rock, nearly 200 feet, into a thickly-wooded kloof, where he lay until night fell. Then cautiously he felt his way towards where he imagined Mount Prospect was. The heavy mist and rain combined prevented all possibility of his finding the path, but hoping by some lucky chance to hit the road, he kept on all through the night, falling over rocks, getting into streams, and soaked to the skin with rain and mud. In consequence of the ironstone which abounds in the neighbourhood, the compass he had with him got out of order, leading him straight towards the Boer position on Lang's Nek. When day broke, discovering this, he kept close in a donga to prevent discovery. Towards night he moved in the direction of our camp, watching Boer vedettes, and seizing every opportunity of concealing himself. Although bruised and sore in every part he managed to reach the camp about three o'clock on Tuesday morning—when his first words were, "I am all right; we'll beat them yet"—having suffered great hardships; narrowly escaping falling into the hands of the enemy, and being about forty-eight hours without any food.

General Wood returned to Newcastle on the 4th of March, and took up his quarters at Fort Amiel. The 58th Regiment, or rather what was left of them (about 200), were sent back to Newcastle, and the whole of the 92nd moved up in their place, as was also done later on with the 2-60th when the 83rd had reached Newcastle. The 97th replaced the Highlanders, and constructed a fort on a hill near Schuin's Hooghte. An envoy from the Amaswazi tribe had an interview with General Wood

the same day, relative to the action of the Boers, whom the envoy represented as endeavouring to coerce the Swazies into joining them against the British. General Wood, however, informed the man that they must remain quiet; but that, if the Boers interfered with them, he looked to the Swazies to defend themselves. Heavy rains succeeded, and the telegraph wire between the camp and fort became disconnected. The General was meanwhile in constant communication with General Joubert, President Brand, and the Home Government, as to peace negotiations, as is evidenced by the following :—"From General Wood, Newcastle, to President Brand, Bloemfontein, March 2, 1881.—P. Joubert requests me to send you the following telegram :—Your telegram received. In reply, the Government and the people of the Transvaal fully agree with you in the wish that no further blood should be shed. It is alone in the power of the English Ministry to prevent, against whose attacks we defend ourselves. We are willing to accept every offer made by your Honour that peace may be, as far as it is not in direct opposition to our liberty. Will forward your telegram at once to President Kruger."

In consequence of communications which passed on the 5th, General Wood left Newcastle with his Staff next day to meet Joubert and the Boer leaders, between Mount Prospect camp and the Boer lines. The news of the object of his visit was disbelieved by many, and ridiculed by more. The idea of an English General, with 10,000 troops at his back, after the British forces had been thrice beaten in open fight, going to an interview with the leaders of the enemy, for the sake of gaining time to negotiate peace proposals, was thought to be too absurd to be credited ; and yet it turned out quite true, and further astonished the sceptical, whose name was legion. On the General's return to Fort Amiel the next morning, all the Press representatives interviewed him, and obtained the details of his meeting with Joubert, and the arrangements come to for an eight days' armistice. The meeting took place half way between the lines. The English were represented by Sir Evelyn Wood, Major Frazer, R.E., Captain Maude, A.D.C., and Mr. Cropper. The Boers were represented by Piet Joubert, D. C. Uys, C. J.

Joubert, and C. H. Fouchée; and A. J. Foster acted as interpreter. Sir Evelyn Wood stated that the object of the armistice was to allow time for Kruger to reply to Sir George Colley's communication; and for any further communications that might pass between Joubert and himself, in the view of a peaceful settlement of the questions at issue. With this view they mutually agreed to a cessation of all hostilities from noon on the 6th to midnight on the 14th. The conditions were:— 1. That both parties promised not to make any forward movements from their positions; but each party retained the liberty of movement within his own lines. 2. General Wood was free to send eight days' provisions, but no ammunition, to the Transvaal garrisons, the Boer officers undertaking to pass the provisions to such garrisons. 3. Commandant-General Joubert undertook to send notice of the armistice conditions to the respective garrisons and the Boer commanders at once; and would use his influence to induce the Boer commanders to allow the withdrawal of British wounded from all Transvaal garrisons into Natal.

On the subject of the reinforcements, the Boers at first suggested that the troops on the road should halt. Sir Evelyn Wood could not agree to this proposal, and pointed out that he had all his infantry with him, and that only mounted men and guns were on the road, and their arrival was but a question of two or three days. The Boers did not press the point, and made no further suggestions. The interview lasted an hour and a half, the Boers saying very little, and General Wood occupying the greater part of the time in argument. On the subject of peace the Boers were explicit, and demanded:—Complete amnesty of all leaders; Entire freedom of the Transvaal from British government, except suzerainty; No interference in its internal affairs, and the Province to be free and unfettered. That night waggons with supplies were despatched to Potchefstrom, Standerton, and Wakkerstrom.

On the 8th of March the 83rd Regiment, Mounted Infantry, and a Battery of Artillery arrived in Newcastle; and, on the day following, the remnant of the 58th Regiment was sent

down to Ladysmith to meet their drafts. Authentic news reached the authorities that President Brand had at last left Bloemfontein, to visit the British and Boer camps during the armistice. The 6th Inniskilling Dragoons had also reached Ladysmith at that time, and were rapidly being pushed on. The 10th and 11th of March were passed in suspense. Heavy rains came down, detaining the President and the troops; and reports of all kinds were circulated as to the threatening attitude of the Boers, and their action to loyals in Utrecht and elsewhere, while one report stated that they had prevented the waggons, despatched with provisions under a pass to Wakkerstrom, from proceeding, and had captured and looted the stores. Colonel Buller arrived by Post cart at Newcastle on the evening of the 11th; and on the same date Lady Colley and Mrs. Montague reached Ladysmith, *en route* to visit the grave of poor Sir George. They did not make a long stay, but reached Mount Prospect two days afterwards.

A message from the Home Government was received by General Wood on the 11th, to the effect that Government authorised the prolongation of the armistice if necessary. Severe rains continued, and necessitated a gang of 300 men being put on the roads, to repair them between Newcastle and Mount Prospect. On the 13th General Wood and Colonel Buller went to the advanced camp, for the purpose of holding another conference with the Boer leaders, in order to prolong the armistice until President Brand's arrival. The same day the enterprising Special Correspondent of the *Natal Witness*, Mr. F. Watson (who was representing the *Daily Telegraph*, with the British Column), visited the Boer head-quarters, to see General Joubert, by previous arrangement made the day before. General Joubert expressed himself to the following effect:—

"We have only one demand, and on that we have taken our stand, and will keep that stand to the end. That demand is, that we get our freedom back again. Nothing else will satisfy us; we must have it before we do anything else. The Transvaal must be given back to us, and until we get it nothing but war must prevail. Peace is out of the question. Give us our independence, recall Shepstone's annexation proclamation, allow us to manage our own affairs as we desire, then we shall be prepared to act in friendly accord with Britain for the interest of British people in South Africa. But independence must come first. We took

up arms when everything else had failed, when we had exhausted all arguments, and we will not lay them down at the bidding of English politicians, and trust to them doing what is requisite. We have had enough of the promises of such people. They promise but don't fulfil, and we cannot any longer put faith in their promises; they are not carried out. We are determined to know exactly what is to be done, and what is intended before we make any final arrangements. We will on no account trust to the fine promises of English politicians, because our experience of the past makes us have no confidence in them. With regard to the alleged appointment of a Royal Commission in England, I am willing to agree to a further armistice if the English people will do as we will, and stop all movements of troops. If they won't do that, it is evident they only want an armistice to suit their own ends—to let them get a large body of men together, and we will never consent to that; we will fight to the end. We have believed in the righteousness of the British Government. We sent a deputation to the Queen of England to lay our case clearly before her, but all to no purpose. I want to know why Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister of England, has not carried out his promise to return the Transvaal to its rightful owners, seeing he considered the annexation a disgraceful act? When we read his words we relied upon the great English Statesman doing us justice. He has not done so. We desire to know why? With regard to the death of General Colley, we are all very sorry indeed at his death. He was a man I knew well, and all of us were grieved when, after the fight, news was brought that he was dead. We believed him to be an honourable, straightforward English gentleman, but he was deceived by the reports of his subordinates. They wilfully did all they could to deceive him, and, acting upon these reports, he, in his turn, unwittingly misrepresented our case to the people of England. Instead of being rejoiced at his death we were very sorry. I wish to contradict the statement that he was shot twice—the last at close quarters. That is utterly untrue. None of our men aimed intentionally at him, and the bullet which killed him struck the top of his forehead, and came out at the back of his head. It has caused us great pain to hear that in some newspapers it was reported that we had wilfully killed a man whom we all held in great esteem. Such statements are deliberate insults to us, and do more than you would imagine to stir up hatred between the Dutch and the English."

On the evening of the 13th General Wood and Staff arrived again at Mount Prospect, and at once communicated with Joubert about an extension of the armistice. The meeting was to have been held in the morning, but owing to the non-arrival of Vice-President Kruger (detained by bad weather), who desired to attend the conference, it was put off until the afternoon. At 3 P.M. General Wood, accompanied by Colonel Buller, Majors Clarke and Frazer, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Cropper, went to the meeting, which took place on the flat, half-way between the respective lines, where a tent was pitched. The Press representatives and others remained in the rear during

the interview, which lasted from 3.45 to 4.45 P.M. The Vice President did not arrive in time, but the Boers were represented by General Joubert, Commandant Fouchée, D. C. Uys, C. J. Joubert, J. Coetzee, and Mr. Watkins, interpreter. The result was soon communicated as follows :—

"It is hereby agreed between Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood, K.C.B., Commanding Her Majesty's Forces, on the one hand, and P. Jno. Joubert, Commanding the Boer Forces, on the other hand, that, in order to give time for the arrival of Mr. Kruger, delayed by bad weather, and for the receipt of a telegram expected from England, the armistice now existing between the aforesaid shall be extended to midnight of the 18th inst., that is to say, for four days longer. Conditions :—1. The conditions of existing armistice to remain unaltered, except that in consideration of this prolongation for four days General Wood has the option of sending four days' more provisions to those garrisons which have already received eight days', and twelve days' provisions to those garrisons which have not yet received any provisions. 2. As provided in former agreement, hostilities will only be suspended at the several garrisons for the four or twelve days from the arrival of the provisions at the garrisons; also an officer may accompany each provision column, but he and the conductor and driver are to be strictly neutral. 3. This armistice is not to prevent General Wood from sending his post as usual. Agreed to at the tent under Lang's Nek, this 14th day of March, 1881. Signed, EVELYN WOOD. P. J. JOUBERT."

Lady Colley went alone to visit the grave of her husband that day, and left again after a short time. Mrs. Montague, who had come with her, spent some hours in visiting the wounded, for whom she had brought up some comforts. Under the armistice conditions, Wakkerstrom, Potchefstrom, Standerton, Marabastadt, Rustenberg, and Leydenberg all had twelve days' provisions sent them in due course. Heavy rains still continued, detaining President Brand. Next day word was sent down that Vice-President Kruger had arrived at the Boer camp, and in consequence, on the 16th another meeting took place and lasted all day. General Wood was accompanied by Buller, Frazer, Clarke, and Cropper; and among the Boers were Joubert, Kruger, Jorrissen, Pretorius, Uys, and Rev. Ackermann. The interview occurred at the same place as the last one. The meeting was a very stormy and unsettled one, and at midday it was officially reported that, in consequence of the Boer demands to be more directly represented on a Royal Commission, and their objection to any troops remaining in the country while its meetings were held, they were no nearer

peace than ever, and unless the Boers moderated their tone the negotiations could come to nothing. Late in the afternoon, while communication by telegraph had been constantly kept up with the Colonial Office in England, things were more settled, and by seven o'clock in the evening, when the meeting broke up, the General informed the "Specials" that the Boers had to a great extent accepted generally the proposals of the British Government, reserving only one or two points for further consideration and discussion at a future meeting.

Heavy rain still continued, but the 17th passed very quietly, excepting that troops were rapidly pushed on, to be handy in case of emergency; Barrow's Mounted Infantry reaching Mount Prospect on that date; the 83rd being on their way up from Newcastle; and C Battery 1st Brigade R.A., three troops 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, and four companies and drafts of the 97th arriving at Newcastle. At the Port of Durban the S.S. *Chupra* arrived, with part of the 14th Hussars and their horses, on the 15th, and was followed by the *Bherldana* two days after, with a second lot of the same Regiment, and the *Hankow* with the remainder. Brigadier-General Drury Lowe, in command of cavalry, with his A.D.C., Captain Swain, 17th Lancers, arrived at Cape Town in the *Durban*, and news was received of the departure and near approach of the other reinforcements.

On the 18th, and last day of the prolonged armistice, about 3 P.M., General Wood, Colonel Buller, and Staff, met General Joubert and his brother at O'Neill's farm, to discuss the terms which the Boer leaders were unable to agree to at the last meeting. President Kruger was too ill to be present. Dr. Jorrissen was also absent. At the close of the interview, which lasted about three hours, General Wood called up the Press representatives and informed them "that Kruger and Pretorius were unwell and unable to attend. A telegram had been received from Lord Kimberley, containing an answer to the requests of the Boers. Lord Kimberley had been unable to accede to the requests. Joubert had then asked for a prolongation of the armistice for three days, to enable the Boers to avail themselves of the advice of President Brand as to the attitude they

should assume, also that they may consider Lord Kimberley's message of yesterday, which does not meet their wishes. Joubert and I have had discussion respecting the provisions of garrisons. He holds that the word garrison includes only soldiers; I maintain it includes every one. It has been agreed that Mr. Brand should settle this point between us." The next day it was reported that President Brand was at Muller's Pass, ten miles from Newcastle, so the Resident Magistrate went over to escort him in, and arrived with him at Newcastle late that night; and the President left again early next morning for Mount Prospect and the Boer camp, having been thirteen days on the road from Bloemfontein.

On the 21st another important meeting was held, also at O'Neill's, at which President Brand came down with the Boer representatives. The meeting lasted all day; but about 6 P.M. matters, which had hitherto proceeded quietly, took an opposite turn, and a point of dispute arose in which neither party would give way. General Wood then intimated that another prolongation of the armistice for forty-eight hours had been mutually agreed upon, to refer the matter Home, and the Press Specials then left; the conference sitting all that night until late, when it was broken up and an adjournment made till the Wednesday. General Wood and Staff rode through to Newcastle next day and back the same evening. Most conflicting reports were prevalent both at Mount Prospect and Newcastle, and throughout the colony; but the general impression was that peace terms would be arranged, and that a Royal Commission would be appointed to settle the details. The final settlement was arrived at in two more meetings, held on the 21st and 23rd of March; and the result is shown in the annexed translation from the Dutch official report of the proceedings:—

REPORT OF MEETINGS AT O'NEILL'S FARM ON THE 21ST AND 23RD MARCH, 1881.

Present: Sir E. Wood, Majors Clarke and Frazer, and Staff of the one side; and Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, P. Joubert, Jorrissen, Dirk Uys, C. Joubert, and Mare, of the other side. At the meetings on the 6th, 14th, and 16th March, 1881, between Sir E. Wood and the Boer leaders, it was agreed to enter into an armistice, whereupon the Boer leaders generally

accepted the terms laid down in Lord Kimberley's telegrams of the 8th and 12th of March, as communicated by Sir E. Wood, excepting the two points objected to—(1) Direct representation in the Royal Commission; (2) The expression of a hope that the English garrisons in the Transvaal should be withdrawn when the Boers dispersed. In their desire for peace, the Boer leaders have since withdrawn these two points, when the following were agreed to:—I.—I, Sir E. Wood, accept the Boer leaders, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, Joubert, and others who were present at the meeting, as the lawful representatives of the people of the Transvaal, now under arms. II.—We, Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, declare ourselves prepared to accept the reigning Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland as suzerain, after the manner explained by Sir E. Wood, and noted down in the minutes of the meeting held on the 16th of March. We likewise agree to acknowledge a British Resident in the future capital of the Government, with such functions as the British Government may decide, on the recommendation of the Royal Commission. We also agree to leave to the Commission the consideration of providing for the protection of interested natives, and boundary questions relating to the possessions of any foreign power must be reserved for the suzerain. III.—I, Sir E. Wood, acknowledge the right of the Transvaal people to their entire self-government subject to suzerain's rights. IV.—We, Krüger, Pretorius, and Joubert, shall co-operate with Her Majesty's Government to punish those who have committed such deeds, or who are directly responsible for such, as are against the laws of civilized warfare. V.—I, Sir E. Wood, in the event of the position at Lang's Nek being evacuated by the Boers, and that they disperse to their homes, declare, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that I will not take possession of the position, nor follow them up with troops, nor send ammunition into the Transvaal. (At a meeting on the 18th of March, a telegram from Lord Kimberley, dated 17th of March, addressed to the Boer representatives, was handed over, being a reply to Sir E. Wood's telegram of 16th of March, containing the points objected to by them on that day.) VI.—The Boer leaders accept the terms offered in the telegram of 17th of March. They declare: "We trust that the British Government will entirely give us our own Government as soon as possible, and at the furthest within six months, with this understanding, that no civil action shall be instituted with regard to deeds done during the war or relating thereto. And likewise no action shall be instituted with regard to taxes, until our own Government has been restored. We further trust, that should the Royal Commission deem it necessary to cut off any territory to the eastward of the 30th deg. long., such Commission shall not order or advise more territory to be ceded than may be required to meet the demands of the English policy set forth in the telegram of the 17th of March." VII.—I, Sir E. Wood, undertake, in the name of the British Government, that the Royal Commission shall sit as soon as possible, and that the Government of the country shall be given back within six months from this date. VIII.—Under these circumstances or conditions we agree on behalf of the Boers under arms immediately to disperse our forces, and to await the decision of pending questions that are handed over to the Royal Commission. After the completion of their work the country will receive the promised self-government. IX.—We, Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, undertake in the name of the Boers to give back all British properties now in possession of the Boer authorities, and taken during the war. And Sir E. Wood agrees to give back all property

belonging to the Boers, now in possession of the British Government, taken during the war, or taken over from the Republic at the time of the annexation; the exchange to take place when the new Government has been ultimately sanctioned.—(Signed) E. Wood, General, High Commissioner; S. P. J. Kruger, M. W. Pretorius, P. J. Joubert.

"O'Neill's Farm, 1 P.M., March 23, 1881.—Present: Sir E. Wood, Majors Frazer and Clarke, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. T. Cropper, aides-de-camp; and from the Boer side, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, P. Joubert, C. Joubert, Jorrissen, and Mare. Sir E. Wood stated that he had received power to ratify the preliminary treaty entered into on the 21st ult. Wherefore Sir E. Wood agreed, to prevent future misunderstanding, That, whereas the British Government has guaranteed immunity from civil prosecution for any actions done during the present war, or relating to it, alike to the leaders, personally, collectively, and individually, or to all those who acted under their orders; the Boer leaders, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, should on their side agree, that to the Royal Commission must be left all questions for indemnifications or other affairs on either side, in so far as the Commission may consider such acts to have been justifiable by the requirements of the war, and are reasonably certified for indemnification. With regard to the provisions made for civil actions, it is naturally understood that nobody shall be prosecuted on either side, on account of political thoughts or deeds relating to the war. Since the meeting of the 21st of March, it has been brought to Sir E. Wood's notice that the arms taken over at the annexation have been taken since by chances of war, and to prevent further discussion for the present, it is agreed to modify Schedule 9 (nine), in so far as relates to arms taken at the annexation by the British Government; which, be they serviceable or unserviceable, must be handed over, when entire self-government is re-established. And further, that the order of any money indemnity that may have been paid for them by the British Government at the annexation must be left to the decision of the Commission. With these exceptions Sir E. Wood herewith ratified the terms of the agreement entered into on the 21st of March, and he and the Boer leaders affixed their names hereto as a proof of their ratifying the same.—(Signed) E. Wood, Major General, and Acting High Commissioner; S. J. P. Kruger, M. W. Pretorius, P. J. Joubert, C. J. Joubert, C. J. P. Jorrissen, J. P. Mare."

On the evening of the 23rd, at 6 o'clock, General Wood informed the "Specials" that peace terms had been made, and the Boers were to evacuate the Nek on the morrow. The following official telegram was sent down to Pietermaritzburg:—"From General Wood, Mount Prospect, to Colonial Secretary. March 24, 1881. Terms of peace have been signed, and the Boers have all gone away. Free trade intercourse is permitted throughout the Transvaal. A Royal Commission is to assemble at once to consider all points left in abeyance, and recommend to the Imperial Government what, speaking generally, shall be the Eastern boundaries of a self-governing

republic, which is to have a British Resident and be under a British protectorate. No one is to be interfered with by either side on account of political opinions or action during the war. Make this public."

Thursday, March 24th, saw the break-up of the Boer camps and evacuation of Lang's Nek, the return of President Brand to Newcastle, *en route* to Bloemfontein, and the utter surprise and disgust of the greater portion of the military and inhabitants of Natal. The loyal refugees, of whom there were numbers in Newcastle, could not find terms strong enough to denounce what they deemed the unwise and cowardly policy of the Convention; while many of the officers resigned their commissions, and others tried to obtain leave, the moment the terms of the settlement became known. No one was to be allowed to go over the Nek until the 25th, so as to avoid any chance of a collision between the soldiery and the younger Boers; but notwithstanding this prohibition many did go through on the same day, and those who went saw the last of the Boers and picked up much information. General Wood went early up with his Staff to the top of the Amajuba, and was there met by some of the Boers, who explained to him the positions of both sides and the course of the fight. The General then returned to the Boer camp and saw the men paraded, addressed by their leaders, told the terms of peace, and then dismissed. I reached Mount Prospect that morning to breakfast (as has been described in Chapter XVIII.), and immediately sent off this telegram:—"Thursday morning.—Just got through from the Boer laager; nearly all the waggons are trekking home to-day. Younger Boers much dissatisfied with terms; older men, though doubting the good intentions of the British Government, yet seem to place confidence in President Brand and General Wood. Not much sickness in their camp. Numbers of Free State Boers came in during the armistice to help, in case peace was not concluded. Two Red Cross men, who have been with me in the Boer camp, left this morning for the Cape. Mount Prospect was to have been attacked by a large force of Boers early the first misty morning if peace had not been concluded."

Next day I was the first from Newcastle able to telegraph and give the terms of the peace settlement, which were kept very secret by the British officials.

In Appendix K will be found the correspondence between General Sir G. P. Colley and the Boer leaders, which was in progress at the time of the Amajuba fight and Sir George's death; as also extracts from the British official telegrams, showing the course of the subsequent negotiations which resulted in the preliminary Convention and the Royal Commission. From the above-named letters it will be seen that the proposal for negotiations emanated from the Boers; and that the unfortunate resumption of active hostilities by Sir George, and the consequent disaster at the Amajuba, resulted simply from the unfortunate delay in Kruger's reply of the 28th of February to Sir George's letter of the 21st, owing to Kruger's absence.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BESIEGED TOWNS.

Pretoria—Its Garrison—Forts—Defence—First Shot—Patrols—Springhaasfontein Fight—Colonel Anstruther's Death—Zwaart-Kopje Engagement—Elaandsfontein—Defeat at Red House—Last Skirmish at Wonderfontein—Potchefstrom—Preparation—Defence of Court House—Clarke and Raaff—Death of Captain Falls—Final Surrender—The Fort and its Defenders—Want of Water—Lieutenant Lindsell's Pluck—Gallant Charge of Lieutenant Dalrymple-Hay—Sickness and Want of Provisions—Surrender—Alleged Treachery of Commandant Cronje.

It is time now to give some little attention to and description of events at the various besieged towns throughout the Transvaal, of which the inhabitants and garrisons had, for three months or more, during the course of the fighting on the Border, had anything but an easy time, as they were captured or surrounded and besieged, being cut off from all resources or communications in Natal. The towns which held out were Pretoria, Potchefstrom, Standerton, Wakkerstrom, Leydenberg, Rustenberg, and Marabastadt. Heidelberg and Middleberg, having no defences or garrison, were helpless from the first. Pretoria, being the capital, comes first on the list. After the news reached Sir Owen Lanyon of the *émeute* at Potchefstrom, a few days were spent in anxiety and doubt by the Pretorians, who were aware of the fact of an ultimatum having been sent to Sir Owen, and were desirous of learning his answer. On the 20th of November, 1880, Mr. Egerton and Sergeant Bradley, of the 94th Regiment, brought into the city the news of the disaster at Bronkhorst Vlei, and on the following day the Executive Council agreed to the Proclamation of Martial Law, which was at once done. Colonel Bellairs, C.B., was Commandant, and the first thing decided upon by the military authorities was that the town must be abandoned, as, owing to

the large surface covered, it would have been impossible to protect it effectually with the limited number of men in Pretoria. A military camp was therefore formed just outside the town, and by the following day hardly a person was left in the town. The number of the inhabitants in the camp were: Europeans—men, 975; women, 676; children, 718; servants, natives, &c., 1,331; total, 3,700. All the horses were taken for the volunteers, who, numbering about fifty on the morning of the 21st, had reached a muster roll of 150 by the 23rd. As it was impossible to receive everybody into the military camp, the gaol was prepared for the reception of a number of the women and children, and Loretto House, Convent, and grounds were enclosed, and a laager, of which these two points were the two southern ends, was built up with wooden barricades and sandbags. The defence was entrusted to the infantry volunteers, consisting of six companies Pretoria Rifles under Major Le Mesurier, R.E. The gaol and convent adjoin each other, and were distant from the military camp about a third of a mile. A little further from the camp was Fort Royal, with one gun, commanding the immediate approach to the town from the south, and on the summit of two hills to the south two forts—Tullichewan and Commeline, the former named after the castle of Sir George Campbell, father-in-law of Colonel Gildea, and the latter after its constructor, Lieutenant Commeline, R.E.—were built, which, with their guns, commanded the Heidelberg and Potchefstrom roads. Fort Campbell, named after Captain Campbell, of the 94th, and commanded by him, lay still further to the south and east. The main camp was to the south-west of both the Convent Laager and Fort Campbell. Here a strong position was defended by the 21st Fusiliers under Colonel Gildea, the guns being distributed between this fort, Fort Campbell, and Fort Tullichewan. The total number of effective fighting men was about 1,000, made up of the following:—2-21st Scots Fusiliers, four companies, headquarters, Staff and band; a company of the 94th; Davey's Horse or Pretoria Carbineers (which increased from the time of the Proclamation of Martial Law from about 70 to about 140); Nourse's Horse, 100; Pretoria Rifles, 500. Among the

defenders of Pretoria were two detachments of the 94th Regiment, which arrived just in time to participate in the defence.

The first shot that was fired near Pretoria occurred on the 19th of December, when Colonel Gildea personally conducted a reconnoitring party out some fifteen miles on the Potchefstrom road, consisting of the Pretoria Carbineers under Captain D'Arcy, and the Mounted Infantry under Lieutenant O'Grady; and although shots were exchanged there were no losses on either side. On December 28th, some mounted men had a brush with the enemy at Six-mile Spruit—Hennop's or Erasmus River. One prisoner was taken and several Boer saddles emptied. Corporal Norman, Pretoria Carbineers, was dangerously wounded in the right knee. The following day, December 29th, a strong force went out in the same direction, and had an engagement at Springhaasfontein, on the other side of the Six-mile Spruit. The force under Colonel Gildea's command was as follows:—Royal Artillery, 2 guns, 2 waggons, 1 officer, 36 men, with four spare horses; 2-21st Royal Scotch Fusiliers, Mounted Infantry, 20 men; 2-21st Royal Scotch Fusiliers, Infantry, 2 officers, 196 non-commissioned officers and men; 94th Regiment, Mounted Infantry, 2 officers, 34 men; Pretoria Carbineers, 5 officers, 80 non-commissioned officers and men; Nourse's Horse, 2 officers, 15 non-commissioned officers and men; Mounted Natives, 10 non-commissioned officers and men; 1 ambulance, 1 surgeon, 3 non-commissioned officers and men; 10 waggons. After a sharp engagement, in which, owing to a misapprehension of certain orders, the Volunteers advanced and recklessly attacked a strong position unsupported, and had to retire with a severe loss, the force fell back, unmolested by the Boers. In this engagement Captain D'Arcy and Trooper Melville were wounded, and their gallantry received high praise from the commanding officer.

The death of Colonel Anstruther, from the effect of his wounds received at Bronkhorst Spruit, caused a gloom over all; but their thoughts were soon diverted to other things. By the end of New Year's week the first serious engagement had been fought at Zwaart-Kopje, on the 6th of January. Colonel Gildea

left early in the morning with a mixed force of about twenty officers, 450 men, one gun, fifteen waggons, and one ambulance, to bring in some forage, and attack a Boer position at Piennaas River, about twelve miles off. Captain Sampson, with Nourse's Horse, was sent in advance with orders to scout in the direction of Struben's farm, and then take up a position on some heights about a mile off the Kopje to be attacked. The Pretoria Carbineers, under Captain Sanctuary, were detached to occupy some koppies in the rear, and remain quietly in position so as to cut off the retreat of the Boers. Leaving a signaller and forty volunteers to hold a hill about three miles from camp, Colonel Gildea proceeded with the rest of his force, and reached the neighbourhood of the Kopje about 6 A.M.; when he heard the Volunteer Cavalry already engaged, and pushed on to help them. Then occurred another case of firing upon a flag of truce, which is best told in Colonel Gildea's own words, which, however, I may add, are amply corroborated by the statements of many others present :—

"After I had been engaged about twenty minutes, Lieutenant Stanuel, 2-21st Royal Scotch Fusiliers, who was on the extreme left in command of the skirmishers, signalled to me that a flag of truce had been put up on the kopje. I at once ordered the cease-fire to be sounded, when all the Fusiliers at once stood up and ordered arms. Up to this not one of the Fusiliers had been killed or wounded. I went to the left of the line, taking my orderly and Lance-Corporal Burns, Mounted Infantry, 2-21st Fusiliers, as he could speak Dutch, and advanced to a drift about 200 yards from the kopje. I was standing with a flag of truce in my hand, and sent Corporal Burns forward with one on the end of his lance. Lieutenant Stanuel had advanced in front of his men, also recognising the flag of truce by holding one in his hand. All this time the enemy were riding away in threes and fours as fast as they could go. I sent three of my scouts on the left to tell them they must not go away while their flag of truce was flying; these men were fired on by the enemy. My orderly having got within about sixty yards of the kopje was received with a volley, and almost at the same moment two shots were fired at me, followed by several others. Seeing the treachery intended, the men along the line took up the fire, and steadily advanced. I galloped to the extreme right of the line, which I reinforced, and ordered them to advance and turn the left of the kopje. This was effected in first-rate form by the Engineers, under Lieutenant Littledale, about ten of the 2-21st Fusiliers, under Lance-Corporal Hampton, who was conspicuous for the gallant way in which he led his men, some of Nourse's Horse, dismounted, under Captain Sampson, and some volunteers, under Captain Palmer. When the right had turned the enemy's position and held the houses on the left rear of the kopje, I ordered the Fusiliers' regimental call and

charge to be sounded. As the men began to charge and were cheering, the white flag was again hoisted, and for the second time I ordered the cease-fire to be sounded, the action having lasted close on one hour. Riding at once up to the kopje, I received the flag of truce, and the enemy surrendered unconditionally. With the exception of the flanking parties and the Carbineers, whom I left to hold the kopjes in my rear, I assembled the whole force at the drift, where we collected our dead and wounded."

From this point Colonel Gildea returned to the camp, but was attacked again on the road by the Boers, who had been largely reinforced; and after some shell practice he managed to turn them out of the Kopje they held, and retired with his force, having lost four men killed and one officer (Captain Sampson) and fourteen men wounded, but capturing sixteen prisoners. With reference to the firing on the flag of truce by the Boers in the Kopje, they said that it was put up by one of their number without authority, and was ordered to be taken down again. The prisoners, who were all from the Waterburg District, one and all declared that they were forced to fight; their leader, Hans Botha, also affirmed that he was commandeered, and he denied that he gave orders to fire on the flag of truce.

On the 15th of January the Lady Superior of the Roman Catholic Convent, sister of Bishop Jolivet, of Natal, died; and the following day another attack in force was made on a Boer laager at Elaandsfontein, and was again unsuccessful. The force paraded included twenty-four officers and 565 non-commissioned officers and men, with two guns, two ambulances, and fifteen waggons. They started away at 4 A.M. in two bodies. The enemy began the fight at once; and shortly afterwards Colonel Bellairs himself arrived at the scene of action, and a general attack was made, but again, through some misapprehension of orders, attributed, unjustly it is thought, to Captain Sanctuary, the whole force had to retire in the face of a hot flank attack. The enemy were strongly reinforced from all points, and attacked the retiring force for some distance. The losses in this engagement were very slight, considering that the troops were under fire for over six hours. On the 23rd of January another smart skirmish took place between fifty mounted Volunteers, under Captain Sanctuary, who were patrolling out by Wonderboom Poort,

close to a Boer laager, and some of the enemy, with, however, no direct loss on either side, Captain Anderson, of the Pretoria Carbineers, being only slightly wounded. Colonel Gildea went out and shelled the place next day and again on the 7th of February, but with what effect is not known. Then followed on the 12th the most disastrous of all the actions round Pretoria, as far as regards the casualties, in the ineffectual attempt to take the Red House and destroy the Boer laager. Colonel Gildea started at 2 A.M., with Royal Artillery, two 9-pounder guns, two waggons, one rocket, one officer, and thirty-six non-commissioned officers and men, and a mixed force of Infantry and mounted men, consisting of twenty-two officers and 533 non-commissioned officers and men, with contingents from the Medical and Transport Departments. The Red House Kraal is seven miles from Pretoria on the road towards Heidelberg, and Colonel Gildea arrived at daybreak with his men at the Six-mile Spruit. Some of his force crossed and took possession of a house on the other side, while Captain Sanctuary, with the Carbineers, had advanced a mile ahead to the ridge above Springhaasfontein. Colonel Gildea led, with Nourse's Horse under Captain Sampson; a party of the Fusiliers under Captain Dunn, and two 9-pounders under Lieutenant Hare, following Nourse's Horse. The Carbineers, under Captain Sanctuary, were ordered to advance and occupy a large stone kraal about 1,000 yards to the left of the Red House Kraal farm. Riding boldly up to it, they were met by a very heavy fire from Boers concealed behind its walls. The guns then advanced and shelled the kraal, but the left flank of the Carbineers was turned by the enemy, and in spite of the heroic efforts of their brave Captain, who was dangerously wounded, they had to retire. The Boers, advancing to within 400 yards of our main body, kept up a hot fire on them, so that they had to fall back, and it was here that Colonel Gildea was so severely wounded as to be incapacitated from maintaining the command. Covered by Nourse's Horse and the Carbineers under Lieutenant Walker, they reached the Six-mile Spruit; some say the Infantry never having fired a shot. Major Le Mesurier, R.E., with the Volunteers, checked the advance of the enemy; the Artillery also now

coming into action. Surgeon-Major Geogehan, two Army Hospital Corps, and six wounded, with an ambulance, had been left behind—or rather so much to the front—that they were captured. The losses were one officer killed (Captain Sanctuary), one wounded (Colonel Gildea), eight men killed or died from their wounds, and eight severely wounded. Another skirmish took place on the 8th of March at Wonderboom Poort, again with no result; and this was the date of the last fighting. The following District Order by Colonel W. Bellairs, C.B., Commanding Transvaal District, speaks for itself:—

"Pretoria, 22nd of March, 1881.—Three months passed in a state of siege has not damped the courage and determination of the brave little garrisons of Potchefstrom, Rustenberg, Marabastadt, and Leydenberg, widely isolated and closely invested though they be. According to information which has reached the Colonel Commanding, these posts continue to hold their own as confidently as at the beginning of hostilities, and with uniform success to beat off the enemy's attacks with slight loss themselves. The garrison and people—men, women, and children—of Pretoria, during this lengthened period of trouble and suspense, have behaved with remarkable coolness and endurance. Their situation is almost unique. Rarely indeed has a whole town been called upon to abandon its dwellings and withdraw to a military camp, and well have the inhabitants in this case responded and acquitted themselves of the grievous task imposed upon them by the stern necessities of this war. The troops, largely composed of Volunteers, have performed excellent service, each encounter telling its tale of greater loss inflicted on the enemy than on themselves. The Colonel Commanding now calls upon all to bear for a short time longer the privation, discomfort and suspense attending their present situation, in the assurance that their deeds will hereafter live in the memories of their children and countrymen, and that, though for the moment cut off, they are certainly not forgotten by England, who has such good reason to be proud of her sons and daughters in this land. Colonel Bellairs begs that all classes, and especially those officers, civil and military, who have had the onerous duty of supervising and organising the successful arrangements carried through during this war, will accept his hearty thanks for the cordial co-operation given by all."

On the 23rd of March three officers from General Wood's column arrived bearing despatches, and next day the Proclamation of the terms and conditions of peace was fully made known, much to the indignation of all. Martial Law was done away with, and on the next day Piet Joubert, with an escort of twenty men, and two other parties of about 200 Boers also, were riding into the town, when they were warned not to do so until the excitement had somewhat subsided. The Government

rationed every one for some time longer, the provisions having held out well, and all the townspeople returned to their houses, in many cases wrecked and robbed. During the whole siege the following were the total casualties:—Killed—one officer, fifteen non-commissioned officers and men; wounded—four officers, thirty-three non-commissioned officers and men; while the Boer losses are put down at six killed and five wounded.

Potchefstrom next merits attention, and although second in my list, for actual fighting and sufferings must undoubtedly be placed first. Its stubborn resistance under such difficulties will long be remembered as a bright spot in an otherwise rather tarnished campaign. After the meeting between Mr. Hudson, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Paul Kruger, it was seen that matters were serious, and Commandant Raaff advised them to take every precaution. Meanwhile Major Clarke, C.M.G., arrived from Pretoria, to act as Special Commissioner. Two men, Vander Linden and De Woite, were sent by Commandant Raaff to attend the meeting at Paarde Kraal, and report thereon. Both went independently, and when similar reports came from both that the Boers were determined to fight, and proclaim the Republic again, every precaution was taken, and the Court-house and gaol were fortified. On the 14th of December it was reported that the Boers were in large force some five miles off, and Raaff rode up to camp and warned Colonel Winsloe, who sent down Captain Falls with twenty soldiers, and these with twenty-six of Raaff's men and sixteen civilian volunteers garrisoned the Court-house. With them was also Mr. A. Goetz, the Landdrost. The garrison in the camp consisted of 140 men of the Fusiliers, a proportion of Artillerymen to the two Armstrong 9-pounders, under Major Thornhill, with Colonel Winsloe as chief in command. The gaol was occupied by about twenty of the Fusiliers; in this there were some twelve or more prisoners undergoing sentences. The prison, which is a stone building, was barricaded at weak points by sand-bags, and the Court-house, which is brick-built and had a thatched roof, was also put in a fair state of defence. The fort—an earthwork nearly thirty yards square, and about 1,000 yards from the Court-house—was, with the other strongholds, as well supplied with

provisions as the limited time at disposal would admit, and from the magazine, a separate enclosure between the fort and graveyard, the ammunition was removed and distributed; the magazine itself was occupied as an outpost by a party from the fort.

Among the townspeople who took shelter in the fort were the Portuguese Consul-General, Mr. Forssman, with his wife and family, Dr. and Mrs. Sketchley, Mrs. McIntyre and her children, Mrs. Palmer, and two ladies engaged as teachers in Potchefstrom. After the siege had been kept up for some time, the ladies wished to go back to the town, and Colonel Winsloe on three separate occasions made the request to the Boer Commandant, but only Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. McIntyre, and the two lady teachers were granted permission to return. Then all the ladies who remained in the town came and petitioned the Boer Commandant to allow the others, with their children, to come out, but Cronje was obdurate; he replied, they had sought the protection of the British, let the British protect them if they could. Mrs. Sketchley died in the fort not long after the refusal of the request, also one of Chevalier Forssman's sons; of Mrs. McIntyre's children, one little girl was killed, and the other was wounded by a bullet. To add to the list, on the day the garrison surrendered, two of Chevalier Forssman's daughters were stricken with fever.

On the 15th 500 mounted and armed Boers entered the town, and took possession of Borrius's printing office, the buildings adjoining, and Mr. Forssman's house. These places formed the head-quarters of the Boers. They also took possession of the entrance of every street in the town, threw out scouts to the entrances to the Market Square, and to the drifts leading to the town. The next day, the 16th, fighting began in earnest, and the firing was hot on both sides. Firing was kept up by the Boers very well that day. Brigade-General Jan Kock commanded the men firing at the prison on the right and Commandant Andries Oosthuizen on the left; those two flanks fired at the same time on the fort, about 300 yards' distance. About an hour after it commenced Captain Falls was killed. He was

leaning against the door inside the Landdrost's office, talking to Commandant Raaff, when a bullet came through the door and hit him. He ejaculated, "Oh, God!" and dropped dead. The bullet had gone right through his heart. The Boers by this time had possession of all the buildings round the Square, and the firing continued all that day and night. Wood, one of Raaff's men, was killed, and four others wounded. During the night the bodies of Captain Falls and Wood were buried in the hen-house attached to the Court-house. On the 17th the firing still continued as heavily as ever, and the booming of cannon was heard from the camp. On the night of the 17th they began to feel the want of water, and they started digging in the floor, finding water at eleven feet. By that night there were nine men wounded, and as there was no doctor their sufferings were very great. Nothing could be done for them besides bandaging their wounds as well as it was possible to do. During the night the Boers had broken the wall of the stable behind, and got into it. They were thus enabled to pour a heavy fire from a distance of about eight yards. Amid the greatest danger a hole was broken through the roof to enable them to signal to the camp where to send the shells. Colonel Winsloe signalled back "Retire on camp." This, of course, it was impossible to do, as they were completely surrounded.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th it was discovered that the Boers were setting fire to the thatched roof, and as nothing could then have saved them, Major Clarke and Commandant Raaff agreed to surrender, on the understanding that the lives of all those in the Court-house should be saved. This was agreed to, and they were then removed to Forssman's house, and then it was found that some of the men who had been stationed at Schikkerling's house and at the Criterion Hotel were prisoners. Included in the prisoners whom the Boers had were De Woite and Vander Linden, who had acted as scouts. Eventually they were both tried by the Kriigsraad and condemned to death. Vander Linden was shot on the 29th of December, but De Woite not till January 6th.

On the 21st of December the garrison of the prison falling short of provisions evacuated it, retiring on the fort without

loss. On the 22nd the Boers occupied the deserted stronghold, but were quickly driven out by the shell-fire from the fort. Mr. Nelson, J.P., was taken prisoner by the Boers and kept in close confinement. Three of his sons got into the fort and fought against the Boers. Two of them on a dark night (the 19th February) carried despatches through the Boer lines from Colonel Winsloe to his Excellency Sir Evelyn Wood at Newcastle, arriving there on March 5th, after many perils, one of which was swimming the swollen Vaal River, and much fatigue.

The history of the besieged in the fort is best told by one of them, who wrote :—

"At about 9.30 A.M. on the morning of the 16th several armed Boers rode up to within 200 yards of the camp. Colonel Winsloe immediately ordered a small party of Mounted Infantry to ride up and inquire what they wanted. On Lieutenant Lindsell (who was in command) approaching them, one of the Boers fired at him at about five yards' distance; Lieutenant Lindsell then gave the order to his men to charge, which they did most effectually, cutting down two of the enemy, and driving the remainder back to the town amidst cheers from the fort and gaol. A general attack now took place on two sides of the fort, but the two 9-pounders and the effective and steady firing from the camp soon repulsed them; in fact, before the attack had time to properly develop. The Boers then lined the front walls of the town about 500 yards from the front, and kept up a continuous fire till dark, doing no damage. That evening the water furrow, from which the supply of water for the camp was taken, was cut off. In the meantime the well which had already been commenced was sunk to a depth of twenty feet, but no water was obtained. Affairs now became very critical, the water-barrels, which had fortunately been filled on the 16th, only contained sufficient water for two days, at the limited rate of two pints a day per man. The weather was fearfully hot, and the work of building the parapets terribly severe on the men. On the night of the 17th it was determined to take the water-carts to a stream half a mile away from camp and fill them; this difficult and hazardous expedition started soon after dark, under command of Lieutenant Lindsell, to whom the undertaking was entrusted, and who took with him twenty-five drivers of Royal Artillery acting as Cavalry, the Mounted Infantry, and one company of the 21st. The expedition was most successful, the Boers evidently not being on the look-out in that direction. This fresh supply, now at the rate of two pints a day, would only last a couple of days; but the hope of striking water in the well, which was now thirty feet deep, led us to trust that all would come right. In the meantime the Boers still kept up a hot fire on the fort, the gaol, and Landdrost office. On the morning of the 18th tremendous heavy firing was heard in the direction of the Landdrost's office. At about 9.45 A.M., to our dismay, we saw the white flag floating on top of the flagstaff above the Union Jack, and a quarter of an hour afterwards the flag of the South African Republic replaced the Union Jack. While all

this was going on the working of the well was still continued, till at least a depth of thirty-six feet was attained, with no result. We were now completely cut off from all water. It was therefore determined to cut all horses, mules, etc., adrift, which was done on the following morning. From that date the same desultory firing was kept up from behind walls, hedges, etc., with little or no variation, till the morning of the 1st of January. On the 19th of December, when the last drop of water was finished, a reward of £5 to the first party who struck water was offered by Colonel Winsloe. Several new wells were commenced, and at last, to everybody's joy and relief, the R.A. party struck water at nine feet; the well soon filled, and yielded plenty of water during the remainder of the siege. On the morning of the 1st of January heavy firing commenced at daybreak, the Boers being strongly reinforced, and an attack was expected. The extent of the firing may be imagined when one thinks of nearly 2,000 men within 500 yards of the fort firing as fast and as effectually as time would permit. Nothing of interest now occurred for several days, a slight desultory firing being kept up between the town and the fort. On the 5th of January the Boers occupied the cemetery, about 300 yards on our left front. Lieutenant Lindsell, with a party of Volunteers, made their way down by moonlight, and drove the Boers back to the town. The Boers themselves afterwards informed our men that they considered this expedition the most gallant feat we performed during the siege. On the 22nd our men, tantalized by the provoking 'digging' of the Boers, made a most gallant charge on the trenches. Lieutenant Dalrymple Hay led the attack, well supported by the selected men, and was successful in gaining possession of the troublesome position, with four prisoners, six guns, a lot of ammunition, waterproof coats, and trenching tools. The two worst wounded were not left even for an instant unattended to, for under the thickest of the fire Drivers Gibson and Martin, R.A., boldly carried in Walsh, thigh broken, and again Gibson, this time accompanied by Driver Pede, R.A., brought in Colvin, he being shot through the muscle of the arm with an explosive bullet, leaving a horrible wound. A short time afterwards and a flag of truce came from town and then an exchange of prisoners took place. It was nearly dark when the friendly relations were finished, soon after which a shot came from the prison, hostilities recommenced, and we were enemies again. From that date till the end of the siege nothing of much interest occurred; the Boers still continued sapping round us, but as they did us no harm, we interfered but little with them. Food now began to run uncomfortably short; we had been for some time on half rations, but now quarter rations were all that were allowed, except an issue of 1 lb. of mealies, which the men crushed and made porridge of. From the 1st of March all meat, tea, coffee, sugar, and biscuits came to an end, and now we had to rely solely on mealies and Kaffir corn for provisions. The young wife of Dr. Sketchley, who died on the 28th, was buried on the 1st of March. On the 4th of that month the rations had fallen to 4 oz. meat daily, no tea, ¼ oz. coffee, no biscuits, and 1½ lb. of unground mealies. Dysentery and the deadly bullet continued to weaken the gallant defenders, but the struggle was bravely kept up. All this time, now over two months, not one word of news ever reached us from the outside world except on two occasions, when the Boers were 'kind' enough to send us in a copy of their *Staats Courant*, once after their victory over the 94th at Bronkhorst Spruit, and again after our defeat at Lang's Nek. On the 20th of March we had but four sacks of half-

rotten mealies left. Fever, dysentery, and scurvy had broken out. (The Army Surgeon and two civil doctors did their best to overcome the disease throughout.) Colonel Winsloe called for a consultation with his officers, and it was decided unanimously that it would be better to surrender with honourable terms than be forced to surrender in three days' time unconditionally. That same evening, curious to relate, a paper was received from some unknown person in Potchefstrom, smuggled into camp by a friendly Dutchman. In this paper we read of the defeat and death of General Sir George Pomeroy Colley. No news reached us of any armistice, no hope of any reinforcements reaching us in time. It was actually on the 17th and 18th of March that the heaviest firing was being brought against us, 150 round shot alone being fired into the fort on these days. The waggons with the eight days' provisions we never heard of, and when we did General Cronje denied any knowledge of them; thus, on the morning of the 21st, we decided, if the Boers accepted our terms, to surrender with all honours of war. The terms, after some discussion, were accepted by the Boer leaders, and so, exactly three months and five days from the time of the commencement of the siege, the garrison capitulated with all honours of war, personal property to be kept, also all ammunition, but guns and rifles to be given up. On the 24th the garrison evacuated their positions, and marched off direct for Natal *viâ* Orange Free State. Our total casualties were eighty-three killed, wounded, and prisoners, out of 213."

It were needless to repeat the fact that Colonel Winsloe surrendered to the Boer General under false statements, which have since then been repudiated by the Boer leaders and reparation made. Thus ended the drama of the siege of Potchefstrom. Mr. Mollet and Mr. Sluyman arrived from the Free State on March 11th, having been sent by President Brand with despatches for the officers commanding the English garrison and the officer commanding the Boers, informing them of the armistice of eight days, which was to begin from the date of arrival of waggons with provisions. Cronje allowed Mr. Mollet to see Commandant Raaf, but refused either to allow him to go to the camp or to send his despatches up to Colonel Winsloe, so that the troops knew nothing whatever about this armistice until after they had surrendered. The documents as to the disputed treachery of Cronje will be found in Appendix L, as also full list of British casualties. The Boer losses are stated at seven killed and fourteen wounded.

CHAPTER XXII.

BESIEGED TOWNS (*continued*).

Standerton—Number of Garrison—Preparations—Volunteer Forces—First Fight—Gallantry of Mr. Hall—Second Skirmish—Kaffir Bravery—Fight of 7th of February—A Perilous Attack—Raising of the Siege—Casualties—Leydenberg—Neutrality of Townspeople—Causes assigned—Moderation of Boer Commandant P. Steyn—Lieutenant Long's Defence—Arrival of A. Aylward—Summons to Surrender—Siege Incidents—News of Peace—Soldiers Rebel—Colonel Bellair's General Orders—Casualties—Marabastadt—Middleburg.

STANDERTON is the first town of any size on the main road from Natal to Pretoria, and is situated on the north bank of the Vaal River. On the outbreak of hostilities Captain Froome was sent down from Wakkerstrom with two companies of the 94th Regiment and one of the 58th, arriving there on the 21st December. Major Montague, 94th Regiment, author of "Campaigning in South Africa," and who served with his regiment throughout the Zulu War, was sent up from Pietermaritzburg in the Post cart to take command. He arrived there on the 24th December, established martial law the next day, and immediately commenced works for the defence of the town by forts, &c., and the organization and distribution of the forces necessary, ably assisted by the Landdrost, J. C. Krogh, Esq. The officers of the 94th comprised Captains Froome and Campion, Lieutenants Davidson and Massey, 2nd Lieutenants Swan (Acting Adjutant), and McLaughlin. Lieutenant Crompton was the only officer of the 58th. Surgeons-Major Parkinson and Fraser, and Surgeon Lloyd comprised the medical staff. In command of the Volunteers and Mounted Infantry was Conductor Cassell, of the Commissariat and Transport Staff, with Lieutenant Wright and Sergeant Juta, and the Irregular Foot were in charge of Lieutenant Grant

(civilian). Three forts were built on kopjes round the town; two outworks were constructed, besides breastworks, rifle pits, &c. The site of the military camp was near a high kopje, called Stander's Kopje, about 2,300 yards from Fort Alice, the centre of the town being about 800 yards NE. of the fort. The Vaal River, which for long periods was in a flooded state, formed a natural protection south of the town and camp. In the town itself houses interfering with the line of fire were pulled down. Other buildings in suitable positions were barricaded and loopholed, rifle pits and small shelter trenches were dug. On Graveyard Kopje was also placed a fort. The hospital—a strong stone building at Fort Alice—was the one most sheltered by nature from the fire of any enemy outside the limits of the town. The total strength of the garrison, including town and forts, was about 350 soldiers and 70 civilians. One hundred men under Captain Campion occupied the town, round which, at places where the Boers were likely to make a charge, wire entanglements were put up. The Dutch Reformed Church, standing in the centre of the town, was mined, and connected with the Court House and the Post Office by electric wire. These places were again connected with the camp, where a battery, by means of which the charge could be exploded, was kept. Of gunpowder there was very little to be got—of dynamite none, though several efforts were made to obtain it. Owing to the scarcity of these explosives, the various outworks could not be mined. One stray building was set apart for the accommodation of the female population, numbering a score or more. All were well provisioned. Everything being thus prepared, on the 27th Major Montague received information that a meeting of the Boers had been held not far off, to discuss the method of attacking this town; and on that day the Major sent two despatches to Colonel Deane, informing him also that the enemy contemplated attacking any relief force that might come up from Newcastle at Walters—that is to say near Lang's Nek.

Up to the 29th inst. both military and volunteers kept up a vigilant patrol day and night, and without seeing any alarming numbers of the enemy. On that day the military scout on a

kopje near signalled that a large number of Boers were coming from the Maritzburg side, towards Mr. Piet Erasmus's farm, across the Vaal River, and about three miles distant from Standerton. The Mounted Volunteers were at once assembled, and being joined by some of the Mounted Infantry, at once proceeded across the main drift over the Vaal to the number of sixteen, led by Captain Cassell, and went direct for Erasmus's farm to see what the enemy's movements were. Lieutenant Wright having to get arms for certain members, followed Captain Cassell with all haste. With scouts out, they arrived to within about 600 yards of Erasmus's House, and within sight of it, without any view of the enemy, when suddenly Mr. G. B. Hall, one of the Mounted Volunteers, who was scouting, gave the alarm of the presence of the enemy, and gallantly tried to cross the front of the Boers to warn his comrades of the impending danger. Hall achieved his purpose, but it cost him his life. Galloping in front of the Boers, his horse was shot under him. Taking shelter behind it, he opened fire on the enemy, and so attracted the attention of his party. One man against 300 could not long hold his own, and poor Hall was soon shot dead. The mounted men retired on the camp, exchanging shots with the enemy. The Boers, following them, came on in a most determined manner to a hill 600 yards from the camp, and kept up a heavy fire on the position. On the 30th December Major Montague was slightly wounded in the leg by a Boer bullet. During the whole of the siege their marksmen devoted a considerable amount of attention to him, easily recognised by his uniform. On the 4th of January the mounted men, starting early in the morning, went to Stander's Kop, where the Boers had begun to station vedettes, and at daylight drew the Boers on towards Stander's house at the foot of the hill, where a party of foot-soldiers had been previously placed in ambush. Some volleys were exchanged, and the Boers retired. The following day the Boers kept up a warm fire at long ranges on the laagers, but did no harm. The fire from Stander's Kop proving very annoying, Major Montague ordered a dummy gun to be made, mounted on two waggon wheels. This caused the Boers a good deal of alarm, whenever, with a great deal of ostentatious

loading and ramming home, the gun was prepared for action. To keep up the delusion, three or four rifles would occasionally be fixed under the gun, their triggers connected with a string, and their charges fired simultaneously. So soon as preparations with the dummy were commenced the Boers on Stander's Kop took to their heels, out of sight of the artillery. On the 7th January occurred a brave incident. The Boers built during one night an earthwork in the shape of the letter A on the other side of the Vaal River, 400 yards nearer the town. Close by stood a house known as Scheeper's Shanty, and this it was thought advisable should be destroyed. Among other volunteers for the duty was one Injofa, a Swazie, then undergoing a term of penal servitude for culpable homicide. With a party of Kaffirs he crossed the river, and the men began pulling down the house. Injofa, however, took his gun and marched boldly up to the Boer earthworks 400 yards away, and, to the astonishment of the spectators on this side of the river, reached the fort without a shot being fired at him. He then coolly began to demolish the earthwork by the aid of some tools he found inside it. That accomplished, he recrossed the river. The foregoing is not the only instance of daring he had shown during the war. This man was in the Secocoeni war, and by his bravery there brought himself under the notice of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Of all the skirmishes that of the 7th February was the most successful. Seventy infantrymen were on that night taken out towards a house which had been occupied by the Boers some two or three miles distant from the town, and were concealed in the vicinity of the farm. Next morning our Mounted Infantry moved out to draw the enemy towards the ambush. For some reason or other this movement failed, and the Boers coming on in great force to where the infantry were concealed, our men had to make good their retreat under a hot fire. The retreat was made in a very cool manner, the enemy being kept at bay, and inflicting no loss on our side. Another gallant act was the following:—On the 24th February, Sergeant Conway, of the 58th, with a patrol, started at ten o'clock at night for Stander's Kop, and in the morning, when the Boers came up to

their usual positions, he and his half-dozen men shot three of the enemy. The Boers in force nearly surrounded the gallant party, who retired, fighting their way to the camp. A party from the garrison turned out and covered the retreat of the Sergeant and his band of volunteers. On the 4th March the enemy occupied another position 800 yards distant from the camp to the left. Out of that place they were driven by the fire of the company of the 58th from advanced rifle pits. Again on the 7th they took up the same position, this time in greater force, and kept up a heavy fire on the men, but again the 58th forced the enemy to abandon the hill. The defence altogether was most successfully and carefully conducted, and although the garrison were latterly put on short rations, yet they could have held out to the end of April. It will thus be seen that the siege of Standerton was by no means devoid of exciting incidents and perilous adventures. How well Major Montague handled his force is best told by the fact of the enemy being unable to gain any advantage during the two and a half months' investment, for it was not till the 11th March that a flag of truce was shown on the other side of the river by two Boers, and the garrison learnt that an armistice had been agreed to. The commander then informed the Boers who escorted the waggons containing supplies that he did not want any provisions and was indifferent whether the waggons discharged their loads at Standerton or not. The Boers were commanded by a man named Lombaard during the siege. The English officer, who came with the convoy, was allowed by his Boer companions to say that General Pomeroy Colley had been killed, and that General Wood was in command of the relief column. Further information regarding the war he was not allowed to give. The total casualties between the 18th December, 1880, and 31st March, 1881, were five killed and nine wounded, including the commandant, Major Montague (slightly).

Leydenberg, away in the North-east, is the next siege in my list. After the departure of the 94th, under Colonel Anstruther, for Pretoria, on Sunday, December 5th, as rumours of the rising of the Boers were prevalent, application was made to Lieutenant Long, commanding the detachment left in the fort, to join the

town in a system of general defence. Whether from misconception, or too strict and punctilious construction of his orders, Lieutenant Long refused assent, greatly to the surprise and discomfiture of the residents. The following telegram was then sent to Natal, *viâ* Delagoa Bay:—"Troops refuse to protect the town. Numbers hardly sufficient to protect themselves. Town decided to remain quiet." On December 13th a letter was written to Sir Owen Lanyon as follows:—"The fifty men left here are here, it is understood, simply for the protection of Government stores, not for the defence of the town. Were they here for the latter purpose, such a number is totally inadequate for any satisfactory protection." It was calculated that there were 220 women and children in the town, and only thirty-four men who could be relied upon. With no laager, no water supply, no chance of saving the property, estimated at over £100,000, the siege, all knew, must continue for three or four months; and therefore the townspeople being left entirely without protection, abandoned by the Government, were quite right in remaining neutral. They owe their safety from molestation, and the absence of looting stores or private property, to the Commandant of the Boers, Piet Steyn. The Boers were in possession of the town and besieged the camp, but Lieutenant Long held his own well. The inhabitants had no occasion to complain of the conduct of the Boers in this district, with the exception of the stopping of communication.

Early in March Mr. A. Aylward arrived in Leydenberg, and under a flag of truce he interviewed Lieutenant Long, 94th Regiment, Dr. Falvay, and the Rev. Father Walsh; he wanted Lieutenant Long to surrender, stating that it was madness in him showing further resistance, as there were no troops in the country to help him. Lieutenant Long replied that he would not surrender, he meant to fight and retain the fort as long as he had a man left him. Aylward invited Father Walsh to remain outside; he replied that the Boers must come and fetch him, he was not a coward, and would not quit the troops while there remained one alive. Messrs. Long and Walsh returned to the fort under escort of Boers, when, an hour after, both parties saluted each other with a shower of bullets. Lieu-

tenant Long's force consisted of fifty men and ten Volunteers. On the 4th of March the Boers managed to set fire to one of the buildings in the fort, it being a thatched roof; the troops put it out in twenty minutes, under a heavy fire from the Boers. They intended to try it on again next morning, the 5th, but Lieutenant Long had stripped the roof of thatch during the night, and the men shouted for them to come on. They cut off the water from the fort, but Lieutenant Long had sunk and struck water; they were obliged to let it run again, as the townspeople were suffering from want of it. Mrs. Long was the only lady in the fort, but she proved most useful in attending on the sick and wounded. Warrant Officer Parsons, of the Commissariat, distinguished himself on two separate occasions, by going out of the fort and throwing hand grenades into the enemy's positions, which created a great diversion.

On the 30th of March the news of the peace reached them, and the Boers at once went to their homes. The soldiers, however, were rather riotous, their first act being to pull down the Republican flag and destroy it; but a new flag was made at the expense of the officer commanding and put up again by the soldiers. There was no Government, no law, and no order for some time afterwards. Several of the soldiers were arrested, brought to Pretoria, and tried, receiving various severe sentences, which were, however, mitigated in every case by General Wood, on account of their previous bravery in defending the fort. Lieutenant Long was so disgusted with the whole proceeding that he resigned his commission, but not before receiving due credit, as is shown in the following General Order, published in Pretoria on the arrival there of his small but gallant detachment:—"The Colonel Commanding, having received detailed accounts of the fort at Leydenberg, wishes to congratulate Lieutenant Long and his gallant little garrison of the 94th Foot, for the heroic and gallant defence made for so long a period against a determined and able foe, many times their own number, and under circumstances of great privation and difficulty. The indomitable courage, great endurance, and intelligent co-operation shown throughout by all has been remarkable, while the ready resources and conspicuous ability displayed by

Lieutenant Long in the conduct of his communications with the enemy entitle him to the highest praise. Isolated in position, 108 miles from Pretoria, surrounded and attacked on all sides, the little garrison have well upheld the honour of England and the gallant 94th, and afforded to the Service a brilliant example of what British soldiers can achieve when well commanded." The casualties during the siege were : killed, three ; wounded, nineteen, between the 6th of January and 31st of March, 1881.

The account of the siege at Marabastadt was given by Captain W. Sampson, late of Nours's Horse, who visited the place after the peace, and ascertained the following details :—

"Marabastadt, though called a village, has never been proclaimed or laid out as a township. The 'village' consists of some seven or eight houses; the district is, however, a very populous one. Since the Secocoeni war a company of the 94th have been stationed there, and the reason is apparent when there are no less than 336,000 Kaffirs in the Zoutpansberg District, and 170,000 in that adjoining, the Waterberg District. Sixty men under Captain Brooke and Lieutenant Jones formed the garrison, aided by thirty Volunteers and fifty half-castes under Captain Thompson, when the war broke out. The fort was put in the best state of defence that circumstances would permit. Fortunately the races were being held at the time the news of the Bronkhorst Spruit arrived, and the English inhabitants of the neighbourhood who were present readily responded to the call of Captain Brooke to aid in the defence. The site of the fort is by no means a good one, being commanded by ridges 800 yards distant from all sides. The campaign was opened by Captain Thompson, who was attacked by the Boers when patrolling in the neighbourhood of Upsalt. He was forced to retire on the fort, with one Volunteer wounded, and one Bastard killed and four wounded. The Boers then threw up three laagers and closely invested the place. Having obtained two ship's carronades from the residence of Commissioner Dahl, they commenced firing on the fort, using as missiles iron taken from the Erstelling Gold Mining Company's works. Captain Brooke took possession of one of the hills at the rear of the fort, and held that position some time, but the Boers with their guns shelled our men out of it, killing Colour-Sergeant Frilge, who was in command of the party. Much to the astonishment of our garrison the enemy did not occupy this position that we evacuated; they must have feared dynamite. The fire of the Boers with their carronades was really very good, even at over a thousand yards. Every now and again our men had to make a sortie to drive them out of range. Well off for arms, ammunition, and provisions, our men worked cheerily. The Boers, had they possessed much energy, might have cut off the water supply by diverting the stream; but in case of contingencies our garrison dug a well and made a covered way to it, so that there was really no fear of the supply failing. The fort held out till the despatches were received announcing the peace. Had the Boers occupied the position on the hill that our men were driven out of, it might have fared badly with the brave little garrison."

At Middleberg, in consequence of the absence of any troops and the scarcity of provisions, the inhabitants decided not to offer any resistance to the Boers, who flocked in large numbers daily after the 22nd of December. Many of the English were, however, taken prisoners, but afterwards released on parole not to leave the town without passes. Stores were also largely "commandeered," but no great damage was done by the Boers, who were commanded by Commandant Grove. Two Englishmen, Messrs. Walker and Cumming, the former Assistant Surveyor to Mr. Rissik, and the latter Clerk to the Native Reserve Commission, both working in the neighbourhood, got a pass one day to go out to a farm three miles off, and finding the road clear, with two good horses, a compass, and three revolvers, they rode off determined to try and reach Delagoa Bay and then by sea to Natal. After an adventurous journey of seventeen days, having left Middleberg on the 25th of February, they reached Delagoa Bay on foot, having had to leave their horses knocked up behind. They were kindly treated by the Kaffirs *en route*, and visited the Swazie King, who gave them carriers. They crossed three large rivers—the Usuto, Limpopo, and Umvaloosi—in a small "dug-out" (a log of wood hollowed out) two at a time, and proceeded to another river by noon near Delagoa Bay. When they arrived at Delagoa Bay they were kindly received by Mr. Menlove's assistant; after a little delay they obtained passage by the Union Company's steamer *Natal*, and arrived in Durban on the morning of the 17th of March.

At Rustenberg and Wakkerstrom also a successful defence was maintained by the British and loyalists, and the Boers were kept at bay until the armistice and the subsequent peace Convention. There were no circumstances of exceptional importance to record; but I am unable to give any details, not having been supplied with the information promised me, in time for publication herewith.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

Sir E. Wood's New Staff Appointments—Sir F. Roberts and Suite—Arrival of Reinforcements—Colonel Lanyon's Departure—Opening Speech at Volksraad—Boer Leaders arrive in Newcastle—Royal Commissioners leave Capetown—Events in Newcastle—Loyal and Refugee Deputations—Boer Address to Sir Hercules—Royal Commission at Pretoria—Their Work—Native Troubles—Trials for Murder—Found Not Guilty—Appointment of Hudson as British Resident—Signing of Convention—Opening of Telegraph between Free State and Natal—Great Interview with Native Chiefs—Speech thereat.

The terms of peace had hardly been settled when the reinforcements promised after the news of the Amajuba fight began to arrive with despatch, both from England and India. Meanwhile, the following provisional re-arrangement of the Staff of the Field Force was made by Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., K.C.B., commanding the Field Force in South-East Africa:—Personal Staff. Lieut. B. Hamilton, 15th Regiment, Aide-de-Camp from 28th March, 1881; Mr. Thornburgh-Cropper, extra Aide-de-Camp from 16th February, 1881.—Head-quarter Staff. Major Redvers Buller, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., 60th Rifles, Chief of the Staff, and to perform such other duties as might be delegated to him, from 4th March, 1881. A.A. and Q.M. Generals: Major F. C. H. Clark, C.M.G., R.A., Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General from 6th February, 1881. Major F. Fraser, R.E., Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General from 28th February, 1881. Major F. Cardew, 82nd Regiment, Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General from 16th February, 1881. D.A.A. and Q.M. Generals: Major H. G. Macgregor, 29th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General. Captain A. B. Maude, 90th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 12th February, 1881. —Pietermaritzburg. Lieut.-Colonel R. Hawthorne, R.E., Commandant. Captain the Hon. Keith-Turnour, 2-60th Rifles, District Adjutant. Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Wavell, 41st

Regiment, Commandant of Line of Communication, Durban to Tugela, and Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. D.A.A. General: Major E. J. H. Spratt, 29th Regiment, Deputy Assistant and Adjutant General, from 11th March, 1881.—Durban. A. Q. M. General: Lieut.-Colonel M. W. E. Gosset, 54th Regiment, Commandant and Assistant Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. D.A.A. and Q.M. Generals. Major E. Essex, 75th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. Lieut. R. C. Wilson, 2-60th Rifles, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, from 10th February, 1881.—Ladysmith. Colonel W. D. Bond, 58th Regiment, Commandant, Line of Communication, Tugela to Newcastle, from 10th March, 1881. Major H. W. E. Brunker, 26th Regiment, Staff Officer and Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, from 10th March, 1881.—Newcastle. Major J. Browne, 94th Regiment, Commandant, from 18th February, 1881. Lieut. H. G. Adams-Connor, 94th Regiment, Garrison Adjutant, 11th March, 1881. Lieut. S. J. M. Jopp, 58th Regiment, Garrison Quartermaster, from 11th March, 1881.—Mount Prospect. D.A.A.G. and Q.M. General: Major A. F. Hart, 21st Regiment, Deputy Assistant and Quartermaster General, from 11th March, 1881. Cavalry. Major W. V. Brownlow, 1st Dragoon Guards, Brigade Major, from 11th March, 1881.

Of the reinforcements the first to arrive were the 14th Hussars from India, followed by the *Euphrates* with the 85th and 102nd Regiments, on March 30th. On the 24th a telegram from home stated that the Premier, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, had announced that Sir Frederick Roberts would return home immediately on arrival, and that the reinforcements had been stopped. At the end of the month the 41st Regiment arrived from England in the *Grantully Castle*. The *France* arrived at Durban on April 1st; she brought, in company with the *Calabria*, the Regiment of the 7th Hussars, made up of 40 officers, 660 men, and 426 horses and mules. Then followed the S.S. *Roman* and *Thames* early in April, with drafts for the various Regiments in Natal. The 102nd were sent back, but the 85th

were landed; the 10th, 26th, and 99th Regiments being countermanded. The 15th Hussars, 92nd, and 97th Regiments were sent back from Mount Prospect to a new camp established in Bennett's Drift, a few miles from Newcastle, and then on the 28th General Wood telegraphed to Pietermaritzburg that Colonel Winsloe had surrendered Potchefstrom on the 21st, before the mule-waggons, which left Mount Prospect on the 7th, had traversed the distance, 200 miles. Terms: all honours of war, retaining private weapons and property. Guns and rifles surrendered, but ammunition for both to be handed to President Brand for custody during war, after which to be returned. Garrison not to serve during the hostilities at present existing. Garrison marching, *viâ* Cronstadt, on Natal. By his agreement with Boers, entered into 21st and 23rd, he should claim all Government property surrendered.

Next day news came of the arrival at the Cape of Sir F. Roberts and his suite by the *Balmoral Castle*. But they took their departure next day by the *Trojan*. The Naval Brigade at Mount Prospect, under Commander Domville, of H.M.S. *Dido*, were ordered down to re-embark, and also Major Brownlow, with his small detachment of the K.D.G. Colonel H. Stewart and Captain Macgregor, who were both taken prisoners at the Amajuba, arrived in Newcastle safely on the 2nd. On the same date it was telegraphed that the Secretary of State for War, in answer to a question, said 12,000 men would be retained in Natal and the Transvaal.

Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon left Pretoria early in April, and on the 9th of April a proclamation appeared in the Government *Gazette*, that, owing to the departure of Colonel Lanyon, Colonel Bellairs would undertake the administration of the Province. Valedictory addresses were drawn up and presented to the Administrator, previous to his departure—by the members of the Executive Council, expressing their high sense of the administrative capacity shown by his Excellency in the discharge of the duties of his high office, and their conviction that his indefatigable industry, diligence, and wide official experience had, throughout his term of office, been devoted to

the furtherance of the best interests of the Government and the people of the province,—and by the members of the civil service of the Transvaal. The latter said, in one passage—"We question whether in the history of the Transvaal two such consecutive years of financial prosperity as those which have passed under your Excellency's rule have ever been experienced. Never has the revenue reached such limits, and never has the official work been carried on with such regularity and despatch."

The wounded from Bronkhorst Spruit, and other wounded in Pretoria, were despatched in waggons, under charge of Captain Anton, of the 94th, to Newcastle on April 6th. In the presence of the assembled troops in garrison the colours of the 94th, brought from the battle-field by Mr. Egerton, were handed over to Captain Campbell's company by Colonel Gildea. The conduct of Mrs. Smith, widow of Bandmaster Smith, of the 94th (who died at Leydenberg before the march of the ill-fated companies was made for Pretoria), on the battle-field was such as to elicit general admiration. Attending the wounded men under fire, Mrs. Smith tore up her dress to make bandages for those who were bleeding to death. The District Order, published by Colonel Bellairs, C.B., on the 5th of April, bore fitting testimony to the heroism of this lady.

President Brand arrived at Potchefstrom on April 9th, where the town was *en fête*, and a hearty reception was accorded him. It may be noted, however, that although the settlement was received with approval by the Boer sympathisers and partisans, yet the contrary was the case with the British residents and the loyalists in the Transvaal, Natal, and the other British South African colonies. This feeling was even very vehemently expressed at public meetings and in many ways. It is superfluous to add that the military in general were extremely disgusted, and most eager to fight again and retrieve their lost prestige.

With reference to the capitulation of Potchefstrom, the following telegram was received from General Wood:—"Newcastle, 11th April.—Boer leaders admitted to me at Heidelberg that Commander Cronje broke their promise by

suppressing news of the armistice to the Potchefstrom garrison; they expressed their most sincere regret, and proposed that the capitulation be considered cancelled; and they acquiesced in the re-occupation of the place. I accepted the apology and proposals. All surrendered material to be handed over at once at Standerton." General Wood had left some days previously for Pretoria, but his carriage being overturned some distance up and himself bruised, he was obliged to return to Newcastle. He started again soon afterwards, when reports were prevalent as to Boer outrages and the rising of Kaffirs, none of which, however, turned out to be true. Mr. Meek, who went up to take possession of his house beyond the Nek, which had been used as a Boer hospital, found Dr. and Mrs. Hutchinson there still. The latter being ill, Swart Dirk Uys had left them to remain a few days until they could get a waggon to move comfortably to their home in Utrecht. This did not, however, suit Mr. Meek, who very ungraciously complained to Sir Evelyn, and at last got them almost turned out. Sir Evelyn Wood and Major Fraser, who reached Pretoria in the second week in April, left on the 15th at daybreak for Heidelberg, Colonel Lanyon accompanying them. On arrival at Heidelberg the Republican flag was found flying, but on the remonstrance on the part of General Wood it was hauled down. It was stated, as indicating the state of things in the Transvaal after the Convention, that on the arrival of Magistrate Rudolph at Utrecht on April 9th the returned rebels shut their doors in his face. He found the offices turned into cow-sheds; documents and registries all missing; houses of loyals wrecked, property looted or destroyed, and the late beleaguered and despoiled inhabitants seeking refuge. Anarchy and disorder succeeded peace everywhere, and the law was powerless to protect life or property.

On Monday, the 11th, the whole of the prisoners taken by the Boers arrived at Fort Amiel under charge of Captain Hornby, 58th Regiment, and consisting of three Marines, one Hussar, one Dragoon, nineteen of the 92nd, some 58th, 94th, and 3-60th. They all looked remarkably well, and none the worse for their recent loss of liberty. They all spoke in high

terms of the kindness shown to them by the Boers, except that they were all threatened with death on the first Boer reverse. At that time the major part of the troops were a distance of five miles from the fort, viz., Artillery, 15th Hussars, 6th Dragoons, 83rd, 92nd, 97th, and 2-60th Regiment, also Engineers and Mounted Infantry, while at Fort Amiel there were part of the 58th and 94th. At Mount Prospect 3-60th, Mounted Infantry, &c.

The Vice-President, Paul Kruger, acting on behalf of the Triumvirate, called together a special and extraordinary meeting of the Transvaal Volksraad on the 15th of April, which was opened by the President in a very temperate speech, but afterwards one member rising said that the Boers must not give up an inch of the Transvaal. If the English tried to take one inch the Boers must fight to the last drop of their blood. This sentiment was loudly applauded, and not being able to agree, the meeting broke up. The following extracts from an official translation of the speech fairly indicate its general tone and spirit :—

"I have called you together as representatives of the people, to inform you of what has been done by the Government since it was entrusted to them by your Assembly on the 14th of December, 1880, at Paardekraal, to do everything that was necessary for the restoration of our independence. With a feeling of gratitude to the God of our fathers, who has been near to us in battle and in danger, it is to me an unspeakable privilege to be able to lay before you the treaty of peace entered into at O'Neil's Farm between us and Sir Evelyn Wood as Plenipotentiary of the British Government, and bearing dates 21st and 23rd of March, 1881. I consider it my duty plainly to declare before you and before the whole world, that our respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the Government of Her Majesty, and for the English nation, has never been greater than this time, when we are enabled in this treaty to show you a proof of England's noble and magnanimous love for right and justice. From the treaty of peace you will see that still an important part in the regulation of affairs in this country has been left to a Royal Commission. I confidently declare to you my belief that this Royal Commission will thoroughly and in all respects complete the work of justice so nobly commenced on the 21st and 23rd of March last. In the meantime, I believe I am acting altogether in accordance with the treaty of peace, when I express in your presence the hope that all inhabitants of the Transvaal will in the meantime abstain from all words or deeds which could lead to the perpetuation of that feeling of hostility which must now and for ever be eradicated altogether. The people declared in 1879 what we repeated in the first proclamation, its desire to be a peaceable, obedient people, with a progressive government. Let all citizens offer and accept the hand of reconciliation in order to establish a happy state."

On April 24th Sir Owen Lanyon was requested by Lord Kimberley to remain for the meeting of the Royal Commission. Captain Campbell, 94th, was sent up to Leydenberg to take command and restore order, with power to act as Landdrost, if necessary. By this time all the leaders and representatives of the Boers had arrived in Newcastle, and were awaiting the arrival of the Royal Commissioners. They were S. J. P. Kruger, Vice-President, and Messrs. M. W. Pretorius, J. Joubert, E. J. Jorrissen, T. De Villiers, and G. H. Buskes; with whom, meanwhile, General Sir E. Wood held a conference in reference to the affair of the capitulation of Potchefstrom, and his demand that the same should be annulled, which was ultimately done. On the 28th of April Chief Justice Sir H. De Villiers arrived in Newcastle from the Cape; and two days later Mr. Hudson, Colonial Secretary (Transvaal), and Attorney-General Morcom arrived from Pretoria to give their evidence at the forthcoming conferences. On the same day, 30th, an influential meeting was held in Newcastle, at which Major C. K. White (late a member of the Transvaal Volksraad), and Mr. Zeitsman, of Utrecht, were appointed as delegates to watch the proceedings of the Royal Commission, and represent the interests of the loyalists, both British and Dutch, in the Colony, as well as subsequently in England, if it should be found necessary. Daily conferences took place between the Boer leaders and General Wood and the Chief Justice; but the sittings were quite private, Major Fraser acting as secretary, and Attorney-General Morcom as short-hand writer. Difficulties arose, especially as to the restoration of the guns captured at Potchefstrom; and on May 5th Major Clarke and Joubert left for Potchefstrom on secret service; while the General himself rode over to Wakkerstrom with an escort. Finally the two guns were delivered by the Boers to Major Montague at Standerton on the 11th. Meanwhile the garrison of Potchefstrom had been on the march *viâ* Cronstadt and Harrismith, in the Orange Free State. Their progress was slow, on account of the sick and wounded; and they reached Ladysmith on the 5th of May, meeting with a hearty reception.

His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the

Cape, after giving his Basuto award, took his departure from Cape Town, on board H.M.S. *Orontes*, on the 1st of May, accompanied by his private secretary, Captain St. John, and Messrs. L. Cole (secretary to the Chief Justice), F. J. Watermeyer, interpreter, and W. S. Fletcher, *en route* for the Transvaal. The party reached Durban on the 3rd, and proceeded without delay to Newcastle, where they arrived on the 8th, going direct to Hilldrop Farm, where it had been arranged that the opening sittings of the Commission should be held, and where the other Commissioners were already assembled. Two days later Sir Hercules Robinson made his official entry into Newcastle, together with General Sir E. Wood and Chief Justice Sir H. De Villiers, when the Royal Commission was formally opened, and the Conference commenced.

In the meantime President Brand summoned a meeting of the Orange Free State Volksraad (on the 2nd May); and in the address his Honour referred to the settlement of affairs in the Transvaal, requested permission to attend the Royal Commission as representing a friendly neighbouring State, and expressed the hope that in the result a lasting peace might be established. On the following day, with the unanimous approval of the Volksraad, President Brand started for Newcastle, where he arrived in due course on the 12th. The town was at this time full of refugees, loyalists, and native chiefs of all descriptions, from the Transvaal, among whom may be named Amatonga, son of Mpanda, and brother of Cetywayo, a Zulu chief who served with distinction in the Secocoeni war; as also John Dunn, of world-wide celebrity. A considerable amount of dissatisfaction prevailed, together with widespread rumours of intimidation, in view of the statements and evidence to be adduced before the Royal Commission. In consequence, an official notice was issued—with reference to the Proclamation by his Excellency Sir H. Robinson, G.C.M.G., High Commissioner, dated Cape Town, 18th April, 1881, and announcing the appointment of the Transvaal Royal Commission—giving assurance of full protection from all molestation or hindrance to all persons desirous of giving evidence on either side upon the questions submitted for the consideration of the Royal

Commission. Among the notable persons who arrived to give information was Commandant Raaf, from the Potchefstrom garrison.

On the anniversary of the birthday of Her Majesty Queen Victoria the Boer leaders presented a congratulatory address to Sir H. Robinson, to the following effect:—"A short time ago we had occasion publicly to state that our respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the Government of Her Majesty, and for the British nation, has never been greater than now, that we are enabled by the peace agreement to produce proof of England's noble and magnanimous love of right and justice. And we beg now to reiterate those sentiments, and to add, that we are convinced that the relations which will for the future exist between the Crown of England and the people of the Transvaal will be the best guarantee of a sincere and everlasting peace. We respectfully request that your Excellency may be pleased to convey to Her Majesty our deepest respect, and the assurance that our prayers are that the Almighty God may shower His blessings upon Her Majesty for many years, for the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain and the whole of South Africa, and more especially of the Transvaal, who hails and respects Her Majesty as her future Suzerain."

The proceedings of the Royal Commission were not officially published or made known during the course of the negotiations; and, as was natural, non-official statements and officious rumours were rife throughout the entire period of the sittings, which were prolonged over the months of May, June, and July. It would be futile to give any detailed account of the various and numerous conflicting reports by which the community was from time to time agitated, and kept on the tenter-hooks of excitement and expectation. A brief outline of facts will suffice. After having held several sittings at Hilldrop Farm, Newcastle, the Royal Commissioners adjourned to Pretoria, accompanied by President Brand and the leaders and representatives of the Transvaal Boers. The first departures from Newcastle were those of his Excellency the High Commissioner and the Chief Justice on June 2nd. The final arrivals at Pretoria occurred about the 12th of June, and in the following

week four sittings were held. Subsequently, towards the end of the month and beginning of July, the sittings took place daily. Long and frequent conferences were held with the Boer leaders; and, apart from mere rumours, it was evident that there was great dissidence of opinion, and that much difficulty and delay would attend the final agreement and settlement, if even that could be arrived at. During this period it transpired that one disagreement in particular arose out of the refusal of the Royal Commissioners to sit with G. H. Buskes, who was appointed a member of the Boer Committee on Finance. The Boer leaders, in their turn, took offence at this, and suspended their meetings with the Commission. No little dissatisfaction and irritation was in the end created by the delay and long-protracted suspense. Among the steps taken to support the views of the different classes interested in the prospective settlement of affairs, it may be noted that a deputation of the loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal was sent to Newcastle, and addressed a protest against the manner in which the proceedings of the Royal Commission were conducted. They objected that the Boer representatives were allowed to hear the statements of the witnesses examined; and that every facility was given them to follow the deliberations of the Commissioners, while the representatives of the loyal inhabitants were dealt with at arm's length. This objection was apparently based, in the main, upon their fear of subsequent Boer reprisals; a feeling which undoubtedly existed, and not without justification, as shown by a statement submitted by the Zulu chief Amatonga, who deposed that, when the war broke out, he was asked to join the Boers; and on his refusal they threatened to shoot him. He fled to Wakkerstrom with twenty of his men. But there were 400 natives of the tribes of Sturman, Jantje, Rooiland, and one of Langalibalele's sub-chiefs, who were induced, by the promise of booty, to take part with the Boers, and fight against the British at Wakkerstrom. Amatonga added, that even since the signing of the peace convention the Boers had again threatened that they would shoot him. Reimer J. Vanderlinden (a Boer from the Zeerust district) stated he was summoned, after the war, to accompany a

Commando against the Bechuana chief; and that unless some protection against the Republican Boers were granted, the loyal Boers and natives would most of them be compelled to leave the Transvaal. As regards hostile conflicts between Boers and natives, it is true that there were rumours of such encounters; but on special inquiry being made, it turned out that those reports were unfounded. They originated in a collision between native tribes only, under two chiefs, named Montsiwe and Matebabi, in which, however, the Boers took no part. At Pretoria additional affidavits were submitted to the Royal Commission from loyalists, as to threats and confiscation of property by the Boers. A memorial was also received from a number of loyal Boers in the Rustenberg district, stating their grievances and requesting protection; while many of the native Rustenberg chiefs attended in person. The entire native question was a prominent subject in the deliberations of the Commission, and especially in relation to the Zulus and the Swazies. Financial matters, as between the Transvaal and the British Colony, as well as the private claims by Boers and British, in compensation for damages, also formed another knotty point for consideration.

In redemption of pledges previously given by the Boers, proceedings were instituted about this time to inquire into various alleged crimes that had taken place during the war; notably into the circumstances of the murders of Captain Elliott, Dr. Barbour, and Mr. A. Malcolm. The accused in each case were delivered up by the Boer leaders, according to promise, or surrendered themselves for the investigation. As regards the first-named case, two prisoners, J. Van Nieuwenhuysen and P. J. Daysel, were put on their trial, charged with being accomplices and accessories in the murder of Captain Mitchell John Elliott, which took place at a farm called Koffersfontein, on the banks of the River Vaal, on the 29th of December, 1880. The trial commenced on Tuesday, the 19th of July, in the High Court at Pretoria, and lasted four days. The line of defence adopted on behalf of the prisoners (who had formed part of the armed escort of Captains Elliott and Lambart) was that Captain Lambart, the chief

witness, had made wilful misstatements; and in the result, after deliberating an hour and a half, the jury—which consisted of eight Dutch Boers and one German Afrikander—pronounced the prisoners not guilty. In reference to the murder of Dr. Barbour, two men, J. M. and G. R. Van Rooijen, were charged with the crime in the Circuit Court at Harrismith (Orange Free State), and acquitted on the 28th of September, 1881. The two prisoners were the armed escort, detailed by Commandant L. Viljoen, from the Boer camp at the Amajuba, to take Dr. Barbour and his assistant, or dresser, W. Dyas, over the border into the Orange Free State. But, although there can be no doubt that in this case (as in that of Captain Elliott) the victim was deliberately shot, yet the evidence, statements, and conduct of the chief witness, W. Dyas, were deemed contradictory and unreliable. In the third case, the men, five in number, charged with the murder of Andrew Malcolm in the store at Rietspruit, Witwatersrand, on the 20th-21st of December, 1880, were tried at the High Court of the Transvaal, at Pretoria, on the 25th and 26th of July, resulting in an acquittal, apparently on account of some minor discrepancies in the evidence. As bearing upon the murder of Dr. Barbour, it may be noted that it was stated that the Commission had an affidavit by Allen Smith, a Hottentot, who was a prisoner at Lang's Nek, in which he said that he heard one of the Boers say he had brought an order from Piet Joubert to Viljoen, the Commandant there, to take Barbour and Dyas to the Free State line and shoot them there; and he further said in the course of conversation: "Piet Joubert asked why were the men not shot when they came to the first laager."

On the 25th of July Captain Elliott's body, having been brought to Pretoria, was buried with all military honours. General Sir Evelyn Wood and his staff visited the scene of the disaster at Bronkhorst Vlei. At the beginning of August it became known that the labours of the Royal Commission and the conferences with the Boer leaders had resulted in an amicable settlement, to which no doubt the intermediation of President Brand and his influence with the Boers largely con-

tributed. The Honourable G. Hudson was appointed first British Resident at Pretoria; and it was announced that the Volksraad would be called together to ratify the terms of peace which had been agreed upon; but that pending such ratification none of the British troops would be withdrawn, although the Royal Commissioners were to return to the Cape at once, without awaiting the formal result.

The Convention was signed by the Triumvirate on August 3rd, the day after direct telegraphic communication was opened between Natal and the Orange Free State *viâ* Ladysmith and Harrismith to Bloemfontein. Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed the result from Pretoria to H. E. Colonel Mitchell, Maritzburg, on August 3rd: "Convention signed this afternoon. Civil Government will be handed over on Monday next (8th), and troops will be withdrawn from territory upon ratification by a new Volksraad about six weeks hence." Messages of congratulation, on the opening of a line of telegraph between Natal and the Orange Free State, were also exchanged between President Brand and his Excellency the Administrator, Natal. After this an important meeting with all the native chiefs and sub-chiefs of the Transvaal took place, according to previous arrangements. There were about 300 natives present, as also the Royal Commissioners, and Messrs. Pretorius, Joubert, Jorrissen, Brand, Hudson, and the principal officials, civil and military. Kruger was absent through sickness. An address was read, translated to the natives by the Rev. Mr. Moffat, printed in the native language and circulated. The following are the most important passages:—

"You have been called together to hear from us, the representatives of the Queen of England, what Her Majesty's Government has decided as to the future settlement of this country. You are aware that a little more than four years ago the Transvaal was annexed to the Queen's dominions. This was done because it was then believed that a majority of those who had a voice in the Government of the country preferred British rule to the rule of those who were then in power. Subsequent events have shown that this belief was mistaken, and Her Majesty's Government, with that sense of justice which befits a great and powerful nation, gave orders that the country should be given back to its former rulers under certain conditions which have been framed by us, and agreed to by the representatives of the burghers. In the conditions to which,

as I have said, they agree, your interests have not been overlooked. The existing laws will be maintained, and no future enactment which specially affects your interests will have any effect until the Queen has approved of it I am anxious that you should clearly understand this here to-day, and realize that although there will be a change in the form of Government, your rights as well as your duties will undergo no alteration. You will be allowed to buy or otherwise acquire land, but the transfer will be registered in trust for you in the names of three gentlemen, who will constitute a Native Location Commission. This Commission will mark out Native locations, which the great Native tribes may peacefully occupy. In marking out these locations existing rights will be carefully guarded. In giving back the country to the Burghers, the Queen has reserved to herself the right to appoint a British Resident here, and it will be one of this officer's special duties to see that the provisions of the Convention in your favour are carried out. The Government will be the rulers of the country, but the Resident will keep them informed whenever he ascertains that Natives have been ill-treated, or whenever any attempt is made to incite them to rebellion. He will at the same time be ever ready to assist you with his advice. The different Courts of Law will, as now, be opened to hear your complaints and to redress your grievances. Remember that you will be expected to be a law-abiding people, and that no man will be allowed to take the law into his own hands. If you require protection from your enemies you should look to the Government of the country, whose bounden duty it will be to afford you protection. Two more points I will mention to you to-day. One is the provision that there is to be no slavery or anything approaching to slavery. This provision existed in a former convention, and the Transvaal representatives have willingly consented that the same provision should again be affirmed, so that all men may know what the law of the country is on this subject. The other point is that you will be allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere. The Queen of England desires the good of you all, and you may rest assured that although this country is about to be handed back to its former rulers, your interests will never be forgotten or neglected by Her Majesty's Government or by Her Representatives in South Africa."

Subsequently to the meeting it was generally stated and understood that the Natives regarded the settlement with great dissatisfaction and disgust; and that in conversation among themselves they said:—"England says she is a strong country, and gives back the country to the Boers because it belongs to them. Natives say the country is not the Boers' but theirs, their forefathers having found and occupied the land long before the Boers came. They will not acknowledge the Boer Government, and if necessary will fight."

CHAPTER XXIV.

TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT.

Signing the Convention—Sir Hercules' Address to Triumvirate—General Wood's Address to Troops—Transfer of Government—Proclamation of Triumvirate—Speeches thereat—President Brand on the Settlement—Official Appointments—Re-opening of the High Court—Pensions—Minor Officials—Disturbance in Potchefstrom—State Title—Queen's Speech—Mr. White's Letter to Prime Minister—Holland's Address—Meeting for Election of Members of the Raad—Frans Joubert's Speech—New Volksraad opened September 21st—Forty-two Members sworn in—Opening Speech from Kruger—Opinion unanimously against Convention—Telegram to Mr. Gladstone—Objections to Clauses—Monopolies granted—Mr. Gladstone's Declarations—Final Ratification under quasi-Protest.

In the previous chapter I could do little else than give a brief summary of the principal events which occurred from the time of the peace terms being signed at Lang's Nek on March 23rd until the Royal Commission had finished its business in Pretoria at the end of July. To resume the thread of my history of that period, it is only necessary to commence with a recital of the events which happened on the 8th of August, when the Government was transferred, and follow their course down to the present time (October). But before doing so I may add that the draft Convention was signed by Messrs. Pretorius and P. Joubert, as Representatives on behalf of the Boers, and subsequently by Mr. P. Kruger, at his residence—that gentleman being still too unwell to attend personally at Government House—and by the Royal Commissioners. The President of the Royal Commission, prior to the contracting parties attaching their signatures to the important document, made a short address to the Boer Representatives, as follows :—"Before signing the Convention, which we have now finally agreed to, we are anxious, whilst expressing our best wishes for the success of the future Transvaal State, not to conceal from the Transvaal

representatives our opinion that the greatest danger which the future Government will have to contend with is the Native difficulty. The impression left on the minds of the Commission is that, however anxious the leaders may be to restrain their people, the treatment of the natives by individuals has often been harsh and cruel. And if we may, as sincere well-wishers, express to you one word of parting advice it would be this, that you should employ all the moral influence you possess, and all the legal power you can exercise, to secure for the Natives, who have had no voice in the change now brought about, kind and considerate treatment."—Mr. Pretorius said: "We will do our best."—The draft Convention was then signed, and the final act completed, by which Her Majesty's rule in the Transvaal has been, to all appearance, terminated. Fuller details of the Convention itself, as well as of Lord Kimberley's instructions to the Royal Commission, &c., will be found in Appendices M. and N.

On the following day General Sir Evelyn Wood addressed the troops in garrison at Pretoria. His Excellency called upon them to remember that the excellence of the British Army was based upon its *esprit de corps* and discipline, and that it was their duty to obey his orders, although they might seem to be rather hard. With regard to the state of affairs in the Transvaal, he begged them to remember that it was no part of their duty to their Queen or country to take any part in political questions; and he requested that so long as they remained there they would offer no provocation or molestation, by word or act, to the Boers. This was their duty, and in accordance with the instructions which he gave to them.

Things progressed quietly until the 8th, and although several thousand Boers were then expected, only a few hundreds turned up, and they certainly behaved in a most moderate and quiet manner. About ten o'clock the prominent Boer leaders assembled at the Treasurer-General's office, and after brief addresses from Vice-President P. Kruger and the Hon. M. W. Pretorius, as soon as the flag had been hoisted, Mr. Bok, the State Secretary, read, in a loud and firm voice, the proclamation of the Triumvirate, as follows:—"On this the 8th day of August,

1881, the country has again reverted to our Government. This happened after signing of a Convention on the 3rd of August between the representatives of the Royal Commission and the Members of the Triumvirate, which Convention will be laid before the Volksraad and made public. With the greatest gratitude to our God we communicate this to all inhabitants. Now is the time for us all to prove the strength of our country, and through unity to make power. We thank all the Burghers for their zeal and obedience, and trust they will now also, without delay, strengthen our hands. We expect that all inhabitants will at once pay their taxes, in order to rule our country. To all inhabitants, without exception, we promise the protection of the law, and all the privileges attendant thereon. To inhabitants who are not Burghers, and do not wish to become such, we notify that they have the right to report themselves to the Resident as British subjects, according to Article 28 of the now settled Convention. But be it known to all, that all ordinary rights of property, trade, and usages will still be accorded to every one, Burgher or not. We repeat, solemnly, that our motto is 'Unity and Reconciliation,' our liberty is 'Law and Order.'"

Commandant-General Joubert then spoke briefly, announcing that the Government had arranged that religious service would be held in the Dutch Reformed Church in the afternoon at three o'clock, and requested those present to remain a few days longer in Pretoria until matters should have been settled more or less. The Triumvirate then repaired to the Court-room, where some of the heads of departments were sworn in. As, however, Mr. P. Kruger did not feel himself well, the further swearing in of the officials was postponed for a future occasion, and the crowd dissolved.

President Brand and Sir H. De Villiers had left in the preceding week for the Cape *viâ* the Orange Free State, and they were followed by General Sir E. Wood and Staff on the 5th, and by Sir Hercules Robinson and Staff on the 6th, for Cape Town *viâ* Natal. President Brand reached Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, on the 14th of August, and received a cordial address of welcome from the citizens, in his reply to which he said:—"It was very gratifying to me to

receive the invitation from Her Majesty's Government to be present at the proceedings of the Royal Commission, and I rejoice that their labours have been crowned with such great success. The Royal Commission deserve the lasting gratitude of South Africa for the patience and assiduity and the earnest desire most faithfully to promote the interests entrusted to them, with which they addressed themselves to their difficult task, and the zeal and conscientiousness and ability with which they accomplished their important work. The whole of South Africa will enjoy the fruits of their self-sacrifice and exertions, and if it has been permitted me to be of any assistance, then I have only done my duty, which I owe as a South African."

The members of the old Volksraad having been called together for the 10th of August, assembled on that day (their proceedings will be found in Appendix O); they fixed upon the 15th of September for the election of a new Volksraad, the members of which were to be sworn in by a committee from the old Council. The new officials then appointed were:—State Secretary, Bok; State Attorney, Jorrissen; Auditor-General, Buskes; Surveyor-General, Rissik; Registrar of Deeds, Meintjes; Orphan-Master, J. S. Joubert; Postmaster-General, De Vogel; Acting-Landdrost of Pretoria, Vogel; Chief Justice, Kotze. Landdrost De Villiers of Harrismith had to come as First Landdrost of Pretoria. Another Cape Colony man, the Rev. Mr. Du Toit, was brought up from the Paarl as Superintendent General of Education; and this step seemed one in the right direction. The Volksraad also settled that the official language should be Dutch, and no other would be allowed in the law courts. On the day following the High Court was re-opened by Chief Justice Kotze, who had served under the old Government and also during Shepstone's *régime*, but over whose head, in Sir O. Lanyon's time, Judge De Wet had been brought from the Cape. After the Chief Justice had taken his seat on the Bench, Mr. H. van Rossem, Registrar of the Court, read the proclamation of the Triumvirate, giving notice of the retrocession of the country to the Government of the Transvaal. The State Attorney then addressed the Court at some length, and the Chief Justice made a suitable acknowledgment in reply.

Mr. Juta was appointed High Sheriff; and Lieutenant-Colonel Ferreira (of Ferreira's Horse in the Cape, Zulu, and Basuto Wars) was appointed to the command of an irregular force of 500, to be a semi-police force for the country. The Sub-Commission on Compensation Claims, consisting of Justices De Wet and Kotze, and Mr. Hudson, the Resident, commenced to sit on the 11th of August, and it was notified that the following pensions had been granted by the British Government :—N. J. R. Swart, £240; Fred. Jeppe, £100; J. G. C. van Leenhoff, £160; R. K. Loveday, £73; A. M. Goetz, £125; M. C. Genis, £60—per annum. Many more received gratuities of different amounts, and among them the late Auditor-General, D. M. Kisch, £500.

During the rest of the month arrangements progressed rapidly and quietly for the Volksraad elections, and requisitions were got up and numerously signed to all the best men in the various districts. It was also decided that the usual Pretoria Annual Races should be held on the 27th and 28th of September; and, with the exception of an increased emigration to the Cape, the Orange Free State, and Natal, of the Loyals and many officials, things went on very much the same as before. Among subsequent official appointments were the following :—J. S. Joubert, sen., Master of the Orphan Chamber; J. A. de Vogel, Postmaster-General; Hendrik Rissik, Surveyor-General; Tannay, Chief of the Telegraph Department; Johan Z. De Villiers, late Landdrost of Harrismith, Landdrost of Pretoria; T. J. Krogh, Landdrost of Potchefstrom; C. J. Bodensteyn, Landdrost of Rustenberg; J. C. Krogh, Landdrost of Wakkerstrom; Jacobus Smit, Landdrost of Standerton; J. Backer, Landdrost of Utrecht; C. Botha, Landdrost of Waterberg; Human, Landdrost of Middelberg; Jacobus Uys, Landdrost of Bloemhof; Captain Dahl, Von Brands, and Biedel, for Torstpansburg District; Hoolboom, Gold Commissioner, Pilgrim's Rest. As an indication of the prevailing spirit among the Transvaal Boers, mention may be made of a hitch that occurred in connection with the appointment of Mr. T. J. Krogh as Landdrost of Potchefstrom. This was, of course, made the most of by the Boer "Jingoes." The people refused to allow Mr. Krogh

to take possession, and Messrs. Joubert and Buskes went down from Pretoria to arrange matters; and on their return they reported that the people said they were willing to obey the orders of the Government, but they did not want to have Mr. Krogh as Landdrost, he being a sympathiser with the British Government. They would protest against his appointment, and memorialise the Government for his removal. Mr. Krogh nevertheless remained in office for a short time, but as his nomination was almost universally opposed, he subsequently applied to be relieved from the office, and was removed to Wakkerstrom, and a Mr. de Koch, the people's choice, was substituted as Landdrost of Potchefstrom in his place.

The Dutch paper, the *Volkstem*, under Mr. Villiers, was again re-published, and strongly objected to the Convention, a feeling which seemed to be upheld by most of the candidates awaiting election to the Volksraad. The Boer Government also adopted the old title of "South African Republic;" but this met with objection on the part of the Imperial Government, and caused a telegram from England to be sent out to the effect that the title "Transvaal State" could alone be employed. Another telegram from London on August 29th stated that Parliament had been prorogued till the 12th of November, and that the Queen's Speech alluded to the suspension of hostilities in Basutoland, and the Transvaal Convention, which secured local autonomy.

In England also Mr. White, the Loyal Refugees' Representative, had written a long letter to Mr. Gladstone, in which he asked:—"What can compensate the Loyalists for the loss of their friends and relatives, for the breaking up of their homes, for the loss of their status as British subjects? Can money compensate the 800 Loyalists who are about to be deprived of their nationality and turned into Boers? And how are loyal Boers and the natives to be compensated by any pecuniary gifts?"—and thus concluded:—"We claim, Sir, at least as much justice as the Boers. We are faithful subjects of England, and have suffered and are suffering for our fidelity. Surely we, the friends of our country, who stood by her in the time of trial, have as much right to consideration as rebels

who fought against her. We rely on the frequently-repeated pledges and promises of her Ministers, in which we have trusted. We rely on her sense of moral right not to do us the grievous wrong which the miserable peace contemplates. We rely on her fidelity to obligations and on her ancient reputation for honour and honesty. We rely on the material consequences which will follow on a breach of faith to us. England cannot afford to desert us after having solemnly pledged herself to us. She cannot afford to undergo the danger of internecine war, or of native risings; the danger of her Possessions in South Africa rising in revolt and falling into the hands of a rival Power, of the premium offered to rebellion; the danger of losing her reputation for being a nation whose word can be trusted, or the retribution which surely follows on national, as on individual, wrong-doing. On all grounds, even the very lowest, we cry for justice; and we implore you, sir, in particular, not to allow the close of an illustrious career to be sullied by the wanton abandonment of the loyal defenders of the national honour, and an entire disregard for obligations which you yourself have acknowledged to be binding."

While the Premier was being blamed, on the one hand, for his Transvaal policy, on the other, he received much praise in an address sent on the 20th of August by the Dutch Central Transvaal Committee, from Utrecht, in Holland, which stated: —"With great satisfaction we have learned that the South African Republic has been restored to its original founders. In the name of the people of the Netherlands, we therefore beg to tender our thanks and homage to your Government, which has accomplished this work of justice and generosity, and in the first place to you, whose wishes the Government has carried into effect. England has thereby established a claim to the respect and sympathy of all those who look upon the fraternization of the white races in South Africa as an essential condition to the happiness and peaceful development of that region. That the power of England was more than sufficient to reduce so small a nation to subjection, none of us ever doubted; but you would not use that power as soon as you were convinced that justice required the restoration of the Transvaal to freedom

and independence. You have thus obtained a moral victory greater than ever could have been achieved by brute force. You have won the reverence of the noblest and best among all nations, and you have set an example which will assuredly have the most salutary effect in promoting the happiness and the advancement of mankind."

Early in September the 2-21st head-quarters, &c., left Pretoria *viâ* Heidelberg for Natal, being followed by the Artillery and Mounted Infantry, some of the 94th being only left *pro tem.* A notice was issued that the Royal Sub-Commission would leave for Potchefstrom and other towns shortly, and that all claims against the British Government were to be sent in not later than the 15th of September to the British Resident. On the 9th of September an important meeting was held at the farm of Mr. John Gray, for the election of three members for the district of Pretoria. The favoured candidates were F. J. Joubert, H. P. N. Pretorius, and P. Roos. The meeting was unanimous in desiring an alteration in the objectionable clauses, but equally so in supporting the action of their leaders; and in demanding from their representatives that, should they fail in peaceful persuasion to induce England to take a more generous and confiding view, they should none the less ratify the Convention. This was the first real indication that was given of public feeling in the matter. The speech of the day was that of Mr. Frans J. Joubert, the leader of the Bronkhorst Spruit attack, and a cousin of the member of the Triumvirate of the same name. The most important portion of Mr. Joubert's speech was that which related to the feelings that had been aroused by recent proceedings between different classes of the community. "I earnestly implore each one of you to let us hear no more after this day of Boer, or Englishman, or Hollander, or of Kaffir. Let us bury the dead completely, or only remember it for our good. No one party in the State can get on alone, and if we each go our own way we shall fall to the ground. We must therefore go hand-in-hand, and if we do so we must prosper. Extend then the hand of friendship to every citizen of the State, or any stranger who wishes to remain such, of whatever country he may be. We

may all have felt aggrieved at the action of individuals, and especially those who have misled the British Government, and have misrepresented us; but these are not the British nation, which has now done us justice, and when you look at an Englishman in future I wish you to regard him as one of *that* nation, and so also with all other Europeans. We all come of one stock, and so should live in the land as brothers."

Troopships sailed from England on the 12th of September, in order to take home and to India the troops not required in the Cape and Natal; but it was notified locally that no final movements of troops down country would take place till after the 24th, the date fixed for the ratification of the Convention by the new Volksraad, which the Triumvirate had undertaken should be done. Everything being in readiness at the time, the opening of the New Volksraad took place on Wednesday, the 21st of September, at two o'clock, and the whole of that afternoon was occupied in constituting the Raad, swearing in the members, and other official acts. The following is a list of the returned members :—District of Pretoria—F. Joubert, H. P. Pretorius, P. G. Roos. City of Pretoria—J. C. Preller. District of Potchefstrom—C. J. Bodenstein, H. Lemmer, P. A. Cronjé. Dorp of Potchefstrom—J. van Eck. District of Rustenberg—J. H. Fouché, J. M. van Rooyen, J. Malan. Dorp of Rustenberg, G. Strock. District of Leydenberg—C. J. Coetzee, G. S. Maré, A. A. D. Blaauw. Dorp of Leydenberg—J. J. Lombaard. District of Utrecht—J. Birkenstock, J. J. Spies, T. G. Stenekamp. District of Wakkerstrom—C. F. Laubeschagne, A. A. Stoop, G. Visagie. District of Waterberg—C. C. van Heerden, H. J. Smit. District of Bloemhof—H. Kok, J. Minnaar, G. Niekerk, G. Niemand. District of Middelberg—J. H. Coetzee, S. P. Botha, Nicolas Smit. District of Heidelberg—G. D. van der Heven, J. D. Weibach, C. L. Neethling. District of Standerton—J. P. Taljaard, J. P. Otto. District of Marico—P. J. van Staden, C. Botts, N. C. Grey. District of Zoutpansberg—J. F. Roos, H. F. Smit, P. C. Smit. The members whose election was declared formal proceeded to elect a Chairman, when the choice fell by a large majority on Mr. C. J. Bodenstein, and Mr.

Tournay was appointed Secretary. A discussion then arose about some irregularity in the election of twelve members, and new elections were resolved upon. Next day (Thursday) the Raad was formally opened at noon during a salute of eighteen guns, and the Address of the Triumvirate was read by the Chairman (for which see Appendix P). The next few days, after the finish of the purely official necessary business, were devoted to the discussion of the terms of the Convention, and the speeches were nearly all unanimous in their desire to have certain clauses amended previous to final ratification. In addressing the Raad at the opening, the President (Bodenstein) concluded as follows :—"A great responsibility rests on us all. The people have chosen us to watch over their interests at this unusual time of the year, and under very exceptional circumstances. The management of the country's affairs requires great caution and discrimination. Many of you have shown yourselves to be fearless of danger in the field. Forget not, however, that here a new field is opened to you, on which you must act fearlessly, but with great prudence. The eyes of the world are fixed upon us. Be patient and circumspect in your deliberations, as the future welfare of the people rests in your hands." An adjourned discussion of the clauses lasted until the 30th, when a Committee of the whole House sat with closed doors; and a Select Committee was appointed to report upon various matters in dispute. Meantime Mr. G. P. Moodie was appointed Surveyor-General; and, in the Volksraad, Mr. Kruger asserted that the members of the Sub-Commission on Claims had done their work as far as they had gone with strict impartiality, and were entitled to the fullest confidence.

As the discussion was lasting longer than had been anticipated, more supplies were sent up from Newcastle for the troops, and all downward movements were countermanded. The Raad continued sitting during the first week in October, and, in consequence of the Report of the Special Committee, sent the following telegram to the British Government on October 5th:—"To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone: Triumvirate instructed by Volksraad to apprise you that in their opinion the Convention is contrary to the Treaty of Sand River, in 1852. The

Convention is, in many respects, an open breach of the peace agreement between Sir E. Wood, for Her Majesty, and the Boer leaders, who, trusting that the principles laid down there would be executed, laid down their arms. The Volksraad request that Articles 2 and 18 may be altered. The Suzerain has no right to the conduct of foreign affairs; only the control. Likewise, it is agreed by the peace agreement that we should have complete self-government, and as they stand Articles 3, 13, and sub-division of 26 are a breach of that solemn treaty. The Suzerain has no right of approval of our laws. The Resident being a foreigner cannot be a trustee of property belonging to our citizens. It is *infra dignitatem* for the President to be a member of a Commission. Although willing to pay our debts, we want proof and vouchers; this is not given now. From Article 8 the word 'commandeering' to disappear. Article 20: They who annul grants pay damages. Articles 15, 16, 26, and 27 superfluous—only calculated to offend."

While awaiting the reply to these demands, the Volksraad proceeded with the other business of the country, affirming the principle of monopolies, to develop the internal resources of the country, and determining to show a spirit of progress. On the 11th of October a telegram was received from England to the effect that Mr. Gladstone would not grant any further concessions, and had stated that, while experience might necessitate amendments in the Transvaal settlement, the protection of the interests of the natives was necessary for the dignity of England. On the 14th another and more decisive telegram came from London, saying that the Government was resolved to insist upon the ratification of the Convention. Mr. Gladstone, in replying to addresses, also expressed his determination to abide by the Convention. Communications by telegraph continued between the Home Government and the Transvaal Government until the close of the month; and as the final date for the ratification of the Convention by the Volksraad had been fixed for the 3rd November, and in default of such ratification on or before that date a forward movement of the British forces was to be expected, considerable appre-

hension was excited as to the result. But in the end, finding that no further concessions could be obtained, the Volksraad waived their objections, as it were, under protest; and the Convention was finally ratified on the 25th of October, with the expression of a hope that modifications in the sense desired would thereafter be conceded by the British Government, after experience of the future working of the settlement thus definitely confirmed.*

* The concluding paragraph is a recent addition; as the matter was still under discussion in the Volksraad, and the result doubtful, at the time when the author's labours were concluded, and the MS. was despatched to England for publication, towards the end of October.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST THREADS.

Troubles in Zululand—Sitimela and Umlandela—Umgitwya and Somhlolo—John Dunn intervenes—Sir E. Wood to the Rescue—Cavalry Escort—Interview with Zulu Chiefs—Journey through Zululand—Arrival at Delagoa Bay—By Sea to Natal—Sir E. Wood opens Natal Council—Extracts from Speech on Transvaal and Zululand—Fresh Outbreak in Oham's District—Views on the Zulu Settlement—Colonel Bellairs on Transvaal Natives—Claims sent to Sub-Commissioners—Memorial started in Pretoria—Memorials of 58th, 3-60th and 92nd Regiments—Boer Treatment of Wounded and Neutrals—Official Reports thereon—The Exceptions—Moffat at Zeerust—Dr. Crow at Heidelberg—Use of Explosive Bullets.

In this chapter I intend gathering together the few remaining threads necessary to complete my work, before concluding with a general criticism on the campaign, and the prospects of the future. The first matter that demands attention (although not directly connected with the Transvaal) is the recent fighting in Zululand, Sir Evelyn's visit thereto, and the new proposed improvements on the settlement effected by Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Garnet Wolseley. Towards the end of July began the trouble in Umlandela's territory. Sitimela (a younger brother of Umlandela's), supposed to be an escaped convict, but claiming to be the chief of Umtetwas, managed to slip through into Zululand, collected a lot of people, and told Umlandela he must go. Umlandela sent and finally fled to Chief Dunn for protection. John Dunn immediately went to the Umhlatoosi, and was soon in possession of an impi of from 3,000 to 4,000, principally Umlandela's men. He succeeded in putting down the disturbance. Sitimela tried to tamper with Somkeli, whose reply was—"We were put here by the great white chief (Sir Garnet), and I shall not move until he tells me to." Another of the chiefs, Umgitwya, chief of the Umkosana tribe,

also fled to John Dunn for protection, as his people were siding with Somhlolo, whom they declared to be the rightful heir. In consequence of these disturbances General Wood arrived in Ladysmith on the 15th of August, and arranged to start for Zululand, to hold an *indaba* with the chiefs at the British Resident's place on the Inhlazatye, and settle their disputes. He had a long interview with Mr. Rudolph (late Landdrost of Utrecht), the Resident Magistrate at Ladysmith, and started the next day for Zululand, *viâ* Newcastle and Conference Hill. A Squadron of the 14th Hussars, from Ladysmith, accompanied the General as an escort, and were met by a Squadron of the 6th Dragoons and another of the 15th Hussars, all under Colonel Luck, C.B., at State Drift. Sir Beaumont and Lady F. Dixie accompanied the troops. General Buller, Colonel Grenfell, and Captain Browne, A.D.C., also went with them. Major Frazer accompanied General Wood, and Mr. Rudolph left Ladysmith on the 22nd to meet them at the Inhlazatye on the 24th. General Wood and his Staff—Major Frazer, Lieut. Slade, A.D.C., Lieut. Hamilton, Pr. Sec., and Mr. Gurdon, C.B.—left the Inhlazatye on horseback on September 1st, having made a stay of a week. They proceeded through Zululand and Swazieland to Delagoa Bay, where H.M.S. *Firebrand* had gone up to await them. General Buller and Colonel Grenfell returned with Mr. Rudolph and the troops to Newcastle on the 4th, the 14th Hussars and Mr. Rudolph reaching Ladysmith on the 12th of September. H.M.S. *Firebrand* left Delagoa Bay at 3.30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 9th, and arrived in Durban on the Sunday morning following, when Sir E. Wood came up by special train the same day to Pietermaritzburg. His Excellency opened the annual session of the Legislative Council of Natal on Thursday, October 6th, attended by a brilliant Staff, welcomed by a large concourse of people; and in the course of a long speech, delivered personally, he said, referring to the Transvaal and Zululand:—

"Happily for Natal, her inhabitants have been spared the miseries which are inseparable from warlike operations, and, except in some few instances, in the more serious of which the sufferers have already been compensated, her people have enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity during the strife which was ended by the Boers accepting the terms

offered by Her Majesty's Government. It is to be hoped that the British and Dutch inhabitants of the Transvaal, and also the coloured races, may equally prosper, that heartburnings engendered by recent events may die out, and that all differences may be forgotten in promoting the common welfare of all its peoples. Zulu affairs have for some time occupied my serious attention, but peace prevailed in Zululand until July. So far back as April complaints of undue severity on the part of the appointed chiefs having been put forward, the chiefs concerned and the complainants expressed through the British Resident their desire that I, as the representative of Her Majesty, should inquire into the circumstances and decide thereon. Her Majesty's Government approved of my proceeding to Zululand for this purpose, and also that I might personally ascertain the wishes and opinions of the appointed chiefs on certain suggestions which have been made for the better government of their country. Accordingly a meeting of chiefs was arranged for the 29th of August, 1881. Owing to the extraordinary severity of the weather I postponed the meeting to the 31st. I gave my award in the cases referred to me, and I was requested by the chiefs to convey to Her Majesty's Government their unanimous desire that the suggestions for the better government of their countries might be adopted. This I did in the proceedings of the meeting, which have been submitted for the approval of Her Majesty's Ministers."

Only a few days after this fighting again commenced in Zululand, between Oham and the Bagulisini tribe, and between Usibebu and Undabuka, resulting in the former case in the entire dispersal of the Bagulisini tribe, the remnants of which have fled to the Wakkerstrom district in the Transvaal; and in the latter many natives were killed, Usibebu himself wounded, and his semi-official Sub-Resident, Mr. Colenbrander, dangerously assegaied. What will be the outcome of these troubles I do not know; but of one thing I am certain, namely, that Sir E. Wood will not be able to find twelve men both able and willing to undertake a British Sub-Residentship as proposed with the twelve different tribes and district chiefs unless an example be made of the recent disturbers of the peace, and unless a strong force be allowed them, for a time, to preserve order, secure their persons from danger, and maintain their authority. The Zulu people themselves are willing enough to pay taxes for a strong visible form of Government that can keep order and protect their lives and property. Under the circumstances I think that no better scheme can be devised than that of Sir Evelyn, if Cetywayo be released and allowed to return to a residence near the chief British Resident, who should have a council of representatives of each separate chief always near

him, by whom matters should be settled under the King's order and the British Resident's advice. Until something of this kind is done, the present unsettled state of affairs and the petty jealousies between the different tribes and chiefs will only serve to offer opportunities to the dissatisfied and to adventurers for instigating disturbances in which they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. I trust, however, that some definite and real settlement will shortly take place in their unhappy and distracted land, where certainly it must be admitted that "all the men are brave and all the women virtuous." This digression on the state of Zululand and its inhabitants will I hope be pardoned for the importance of the subject, not only to Natal, but also to the whole of South Africa.

With regard to the firm stand being made by Mr. Gladstone against the wishes of the New Volksraad on the subject of Native Government in the Transvaal, the following letter, addressed to Sir E. Wood by Colonel Bellairs, C.B.,—then *ad interim* Administrator, and for nearly two years Military Commandant in the Transvaal,—a clever, patient, and unprejudiced officer, may be of service, as elucidating the matter, and also affording a hint for the Government of Zululand:—

"Pretoria, May 18th, 1881. Sir,—I have recently forwarded for Your Excellency's information many statements made by native chiefs to the Secretary for Native Affairs, all more or less to the same purport, deprecating the retrocession of the Transvaal, and expressing dread at the prospect of again coming under Boer Government. Some of the chiefs appear to have declared that they will be forced to take up arms hereafter against the Boers, and that they will only pay taxes to the British Government. I therefore desire to urge upon the consideration of the Royal Commissioners, through Your Excellency, in the interests both of the natives and the future Government of the Transvaal, that steps should be taken without delay to moderate the evil influences at work, and to reassure the natives by proving to them that they will not suffer through the transfer of Government about to be carried into effect. This, of course, can only be done by a hearty co-operation on the part of the Boer leaders. If a common-sense view of the matter is taken, the question of Native treatment and taxation in the Transvaal may be said to resolve itself almost into one of mutual interest, and is one which might therefore be advantageously used as a powerful engine to bring about a permanent better understanding between the Boers and natives. Give protection and equal justice to the natives, and they will be willing enough to pay their taxes. That being so, it would surely be a suicidal policy on the part of the Boers were they to act so as to jeopardize the collection of such an important item of revenue as the hut tax, estimated to bring in

this year £40,000, and an increasing amount in succeeding years. Much would be gained if the natives could be given to understand that the payment of these taxes bound the local government to give them protection and ensure their receiving justice and good treatment at all hands; and, again, if the Boers could be made rightly to comprehend that their own interests, the future stability of their Government, and the principal source of their revenue depend mainly on their treatment and behaviour towards the natives. Taxation cheerfully submitted to is, it appears to me, the true way to introduce industrious and civilized habits among the natives. In order to raise the required amount for payment, numbers of each tribe are annually sent away to work for the whites. Anything tending to interfere with the collection of native taxes would affect not only the revenue, but also the labour market. The future Boer Government would, I submit, act wisely if, following the same lines as pursued by ourselves, it appointed a Minister for Native Affairs, with District Native Commissioners to overlook the natives and prevent any tendency to aggression on the part of any neighbouring Boers."

Referring to the work of the Sub-Commission on Claims, it is interesting to note that those sent in to Pretoria alone amounted to nearly 15,000. Of these there were sent from Pretoria, 187 claims; Potchefstrom, 251; Leydenberg, 60; Middelberg, 41; M. W. Strom, 48; Standerton, 36; Marico and Zeerust, 32; Utrecht, 21; Heidelberg, 15; Rustenberg, 35; Christiana, Bloemhof and Keate Award, 22; Zoutpansberg, 18; Waterberg, 1; New Scotland, 8; Kimberley, 5; Natal, 71; Orange Free State, 4. These claims were sent in by all sorts and conditions of men, from bishops down to natives, and included merchants, storekeepers, lawyers, professional men, and private individuals. Many of them were put aside at once as being indirect claims, among which the principal were those of Bishop Jolivet, Barrett Bros., Bishop of Pretoria, J. N. H. Crow, Cape Commercial Bank, T. Bond, N. G. Swart, H. Smithers, A. Broderick, H. Nourse, Decker & Green, Father De Lacy, and Walker R. Higginson. The Commission subsequently held sittings at Maritzburg and Newcastle in order to receive and examine the evidence of those claimants who desired to be heard. Claims of a different description were also made by relatives of the dead, for personal mementoes and property taken by the Boers. The following notice was issued by the Triumvirate, but with what results I have not yet learned:—

"The Government and representatives of the people having been frequently requested by the Royal Commission, in the

name of the relations of the English officers and soldiers who were killed in the last war, for their lost properties. To those Burghers who may have such properties in their possession, after having obtained the consent of their officers, we give notice that they might greatly please many of those relations by sending them back. We are desirous also to add that the military authorities have given notice that they will pay the value of such properties." Memorials to the dead have also been projected, and in some cases already erected. In Pretoria, on August 24th, a meeting of the subscribers to the Volunteer Memorial Fund was held in the European Hotel, when it was resolved, "That in the opinion of this meeting it is advisable that one monument be erected to all who fell in defence of Pretoria, and that the names of both military and volunteers be included in the inscription to be placed on the monument, and that the military be invited to subscribe." The hon. secretary, Mr. Wallace Duncan, communicated with General Bellairs, C.B., and asked him to arrange with the officers of H.M.'s troops in Pretoria to co-operate in the movement. Another meeting was held two days afterwards, at which General Bellairs, C.B., Colonel Gildea, the British Resident, and a number of others were present, when the following resolution was almost unanimously agreed to:—"That united action be taken by the military and volunteers of the Transvaal to erect a monument to the memory of those who have fallen or otherwise lost their lives in the Transvaal in the heroic defence which was made from December 16, 1880, to March 31, 1881; and that such memorial be erected, if possible, in St. Paul's Cathedral, or other national place in England." The following were appointed as "a Committee, with power to add to their number, to collect subscriptions and take such steps as they may see fit for carrying out the former resolution, and bringing the memorial to a successful issue:"—Brigadier-General Bellairs, C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel Gildea, Major Campbell, Major Browne, Captain Churchill, the Hon. the British Resident, Messrs. R. C. Green, E. F. Simpson, Dr. Crow, and Wallace Duncan. The following names have been added since:—Sir Owen Lanyon, the Very Rev. Provost Gildea, Colonel Montague,

Messrs. C. K. White, Johnston, Glynn, D'Arcy, and Rennie. A Finance Committee was appointed, and a London Committee with Sir Owen Lanyon as Chairman. Arrangements have been made with the Cape of Good Hope Bank and the Standard Bank to receive subscriptions at any of their branches, and credit the same to the account of the Transvaal Defence Memorial Fund at their Pretoria branches.

At Mount Prospect the graveyard is carefully enclosed and looked after; and the survivors of that distinguished Regiment, the 58th, who took part in the now memorable assault of Lang's Nek, have determined to erect on the spot a Regimental Monument to the memory of the brave men who lost their lives on the 27th of January, while storming the Boer trenches. On the summit of Amajuba a lasting memorial is also to be placed in position by the men of the 92nd Highlanders to the memory of their comrades who were killed at the battle fought at the last-named place on the 27th of February; and the 58th Regiment also contemplate erecting a memorial stone on the Hill. The officers and men of the 3-60th also ordered a handsome obelisk, which is placed at Schuin's Hooghte, in memory of those who fell in that engagement. The inscription upon one of its sides is as follows :—

This Memorial
Is erected by the Officers,
Non - Commissioned Officers,
And Men of the
60th Royal Rifles,
In Memory of their Comrades
Who were Killed
Or Died of Wounds received
In Action, near this Spot,
On the 8th February,
1881.
Lieut. Garrett.
Lieut. O'Connell.
2nd Lieut. Haworth.

Then follow, on the other three sides, the names of the non-commissioned officers and men.

Since the commencement of the outbreak great stress has often been laid upon the irregular and cruel way in which the Boers carried on their warfare and ill-treated their prisoners and those neutrals who tried to remain in the Transvaal quietly while the war was in progress; but I think, after the testimony of the late Sir George Pomeroy Colley himself, the official inquiries of Colonel Stewart, and the subjoined matter which I wish to bring prominently to the notice of my readers, that no one will for a moment visit the Boer leaders, and the principal portion of the patriots under their command, with the crimes of a few unknown and unrecognized lawless individuals, such as are always to be found in any country, whether civilized or not, where warfare is going on. The conduct of Commandant Cronjé at Potchefstrom is certainly open to animadversion; but in all other cases I think it will be found that the ill-treatment complained of was shown by purely private individuals, who, in many cases, are undiscovered and unpunished to this date. In corroboration of my opinions I wish to give a few documents and letters, and first in the list are the following:—The *London Gazette* of June 10th contains a despatch, dated April 16th, from Sir Evelyn Wood to the Secretary of State for War, enclosing a report from Lieutenant-Colonel H. Stewart, 3rd Dragoon Guards, whom he had directed to ascertain the condition of the wounded and prisoners in the hands of the Boers. Sir Evelyn Wood says:—"From this report it will be seen that both at Heidelberg and at Bronkhorst Spruit the prisoners and wounded received every attention, and that their confinement as prisoners of war was of the least irksome kind."

The following letters, from one of the wounded at Amajuba, and Lieutenant Jopp, 58th Regiment, speak for themselves:—

"It having come to my knowledge that Mr. W. Schultz, of Utrecht, who fought in the Boer ranks at Lang's Nek and Amajuba, has been accused of ill-treating the wounded on those occasions, I shall feel obliged if you will publish my testimony as to Mr. Schultz's conduct. I was found on the field at Amajuba by Mr. Schultz, having fainted through loss of blood from a bullet wound. Mr. S. brought water in his hat and gave me a drink, and when he found this did not revive me, obtained and gave me brandy. He also helped me out of danger, lent me his coat for a pillow, and placed a bottle of water by my side; after which he returned to the Boer ranks.—Maritzburg, June 10, 1881." "Newcastle, April 11, 1881.—Mr. W. Schultz.—Sir,—Agreeably to your request of the 9th inst.,

I have made every inquiry regarding the subject mentioned in your letter; and I am glad to be able to say that I can find no traces of reports having been spread by any non-commissioned officer or soldier of my regiment regarding your behaviour to the wounded during the war. And I sincerely regret that some persons have made a handle of one of the men of my regiment to spread reports which are utterly untrue and unfounded."

These are sufficient as to the treatment of the wounded by the Boers; and with regard to their pillaging propensities, the Special Correspondent of the *Times of Natal*, on his road up to Pretoria after the peace, made special inquiries in many localities along the route, and he reported that, with the exception of some isolated cases, the conduct of the Boers, generally, afforded little, if any, real grounds for complaint.

Now, having given the bright side of the question, in fairness I must also relate the particulars of two outrages which, although objectionable in themselves, yet do not incriminate the leaders of the people, with the exception of those whom I have before named. First as to the ill-treatment of the Rev. Mr. Moffat, the well-known missionary, the friend and brother-in-law of the late Dr. Livingstone. In a letter from a gentleman who escaped from Zeerust to Kimberley occurs the following, under date January 17th, 1881:—"On Christmas morning there came 150 Boers on horseback and some in carts, all with guns. The English people were all ordered to come together on the stoep in front of the Court House. We numbered about twenty-five. Of course we took no arms with us. The odds would have been far too great, and another thing, there were scarcely any rifles or ammunition in Zeerust. The Boers raised their flag and fired a volley of bullets over it, then the proclamation was read, and we were told we could not leave unless we had a pass from the Commandant; and we were also informed by the Commandant that if any English person was heard using any seditious language against the Dutch law, or giving any Kaffir guns or ammunition, they would give us five minutes to say our prayers and then shoot us. Mr. Moffat, from Seychelles, being Kaffir Commissioner as well as Missionary, was ordered by the Commandant to tell the Kaffirs they were under the Dutch law, and that they would have to do

what they ordered them to do. Mr. Moffat replied, 'While I receive my orders from my Government, which is the English Government, I shall endeavour to execute them.' You can form no idea of the fiendish manner in which one of the Boers dealt him a tremendous blow in the chest with the stock of his rifle; another struck him in the face. I believe they would have torn him limb from limb if their Commandant had not stopped them. All that time the other Boers had their guns pointed at us. We expected one of their guns would have gone off by accident, and then the others would have followed. If such had been the case there would not have been a man of us to tell the tale. They then gave orders for all people having ammunition to bring it out, or otherwise they would go into the houses and turn everything upside down to look for it. There was only one store which had powder, and that was Mr. Daly's. They took 60 lbs. of powder and 1,000 lbs. of lead, besides other things out of his store, and took what they wanted out of the other stores also. We all had orders not to leave the town until such times as the Commandant thought fit to give us passes to leave."

The second case is that of Dr. J. N. Harvey Crow, a Civil Surgeon employed during the war at Pretoria, who was sent to Bronkhorst Spruit with Surgeon-Major Comerford to attend to the wounded of the 94th Regiment, and, in a statement of his experiences, he relates that he accompanied ten prisoners of the 94th from the scene of the disaster to the Boer camp at Heidelberg, and arrived in the laager early on the morning of Sunday, the 6th of February. Their waggon was taken to the centre of the camp, and close to the inner or cattle laager. Their rations being finished, the Boers supplied them with a goat and some meat. As Dr. Crow was personally known to several of the Boers there, they sent to him for his personal use milk, biscuit, and coffee. As the doctor had gone down for the purpose of procuring hospital comforts for the wounded at Bronkhorst Spruit, and thinking that the waggon might be sent back that day, he asked permission to see the Commandant, and was taken to Mr. Muller, the Commandant of Heidelberg. On informing him that certain hospital comforts were required for

the wounded, Commandant Muller informed him that being Sunday nothing could be done then. He, however, gave the doctor permission to take the prisoners whom he had accompanied down to the river for the purpose of bathing, which he did, the party being guarded by a number of armed Boers. Nothing unusual happened that day. Early on the following morning (Monday), a Mr. Brink came to the waggon and asked for the doctor, inquiring what things were required for the wounded, and telling the doctor that he could act in this matter as well as the Commandant. Dr. Crow handed him a list of what he wanted, and then accompanied him to the tent of the Commandant, from whom he received a pass to go into Heidelberg to their commissariat stores, and also permission to wash and breakfast at the Royal Hotel, but was told to return without any unnecessary delay to the laager. Immediately on his return he saw three of the soldiers with whom he had come down cooking at their fire, which was close to their waggon, with one sentry keeping guard. There were usually two armed sentries there, but one had gone away at the time for some purpose or other. The remainder of the ten soldiers were outside the laager collecting fuel. Dr. Crow walked up and down in front of the waggon, when suddenly a Boer with a large ox whip in his hand rushed up to him, shouting out something, which Dr. Crow, owing to his very imperfect acquaintance with the Dutch language, did not understand. Seeing that the Boer evidently meant mischief, in as good Dutch as he could speak, the doctor said, "All right, what do you say?" The only answer he got was a cut with the whip, which the Boer wielded in a most brutal and unmerciful manner about the doctor's legs. He did not move from the place, when, while the cowardly assault was being committed, another Boer, also with a whip in his hand, came up, and, dropping his whip, presented his rifle at the doctor, who spoke to a Boer standing near, who had seen the whole business. The doctor told him it was a most cowardly and unprovoked assault, as he was in their laager, and unable to defend himself. He asked this Boer if he would tell him the names of his assailants, and the answer he got was an abrupt order to hold

his tongue. Dr. Crow then said he felt certain that the assault had been committed without any authority, and asked one of the sentries to accompany him to the Commandant's tent, as he intended to lodge a complaint. This the sentry flatly refused to do. All this happened in the presence of several of the soldiers, who were then prisoners in the camp. On going into the town about twelve o'clock, Dr. Crow met Sir Morrison Barlow, and told him the whole particulars of the matter; but Sir Morrison said that any interference on his part, seeing he himself was a prisoner, would be of no avail. He, however, sent for the Landdrost, to whom Dr. Crow repeated his statement. Nothing more was done in the matter then.

The charge of employing and arming natives against the British Forces, as reported at Lang's Nek, was disproved; but there can be no doubt that another charge, viz., that of using in a few cases explosive bullets, is true. And when we consider that the Boers are noted hunters, and armed with the best weapons of precision and certainty for killing game, it is easily understood that a few of them, having arms and ammunition of this kind, and not being armed by the State, should have taken the field with what arms they possessed, and used them unthinkingly and indiscriminately. When the question of customs of civilized warfare was raised at Potchefstrom the following conclusive correspondence passed :—

"Potchefstrom, February 4, 1881.—Commander-General of H.M. Troops in the Camp at Potchefstrom.—Sir,—We are informed by one of your spies, caught on the road going to Pretoria, that you are wantonly destroying powder and ammunition, and, if the moment comes for surrender, that you will do so only after having spiked your guns. We remind you, Sir, that this is entirely against the usances and customs of civilized warfare. We, from our side, wish to follow the law established amongst civilized nations. We adopt the principles laid down at Geneva; and it is, therefore, that we warn you not to commit the acts whereof you are accused; it will only make the conditions of the *inevitable* surrender harder.—I have, &c., P. A. Cronje, Commandant-General."

Colonel Winsloe replied to the above letter as under, enclosing a certificate, signed by two doctors, regarding the explosive bullets :—

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date. I beg, without being discourteous, to decline to enter on

any subject which may have been raised by any messenger of mine. I thank you for the hints you give me as to the customs of civilized warfare, and would ask to be allowed to assure you that I have been accustomed to no other, and that I have no intention of breaking these rules in the smallest particular. In the second paragraph of your letter I find the following, viz.: 'We, from our side, wish to follow the line of warfare established amongst civilized nations. We adopt the principles laid down at Geneva, &c., &c.' I take leave, Sir, for the third time to remind you of the fact of explosive bullets from sporting rifles having been fired into my camp, and that this practice is still continued. This, as I before stated and still continue to believe, is contrary to your orders; and I again ask that it be immediately discontinued, being contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Convention, which you wish to follow. If you will do me the favour of sending one of your doctors to my camp I will show him the wound for your satisfaction. I have not yet thought of surrender, and therefore I think you will excuse my discussing that point. I shall feel obliged by receiving an answer to paragraphs 3 and 4 at your earliest convenience. I enclose a letter from one of my surgeons for your information.—I have, &c., R. W. C. WINSLOE, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding H.M. Troops, Potchefstrom." [Enclosure.] "Officer Commanding, Potchefstrom.—I hereby certify that Private Colvin, at present in hospital here, was wounded on the 22nd of January by a rifle bullet, the said bullet or missile being of an explosive character, as no kind of bullet whatever allowed by the Geneva Convention could have caused such a wound as the man is now suffering from.—R. S. WALLIS, Surgeon, A.M.D.; CHAS. SKETCHLEY, Assistant District Surgeon. The Fort, Potchefstrom, 4th February, 1881."

Again at the Amajuba the same complaint was made, and substantiated by the following reports; and I myself saw a Free State Burgher who had what looked to me like explosive bullets during my stay in the Boer camp:—

"Sub-Lieutenant Augustus L. Scott, attached to the Naval Brigade, referring to the use of 'explosive bullets' by the Boers, says:—The 2nd section of the company Naval Brigade was then sent to line the edge of the mountain in rear. I went with this section. Shortly after part of the 85th Regiment were withdrawn from the left of the mountain, and replaced by portions of the 1st and 2nd sections of Naval Brigade. Our men were lying down under good cover, firing seldom, as the Boers did not show in force on the left, and generally kept out of range. Lieutenant Trower was near me, and Commander Romilly was with us the greater part of the time. At about 11 A.M., twelve of my men were taken from the left and sent to the front of the hill. Commander Romilly came over from them, and in returning he was shot through the body whilst standing by the General, the bullet exploding after passing through him. Dr. Mahon, who was close by, at once attended him, and he was carried to the hollow of the mountain out of fire. Surgeon Edward Mahon, R.N., in his report, adds:—Surgeon Landon and myself chose a position for the hospital near the centre of the plateau, behind a ridge of rocks, and calculated to be out of the enemy's fire. A well was immediately dug near this spot, and a good supply of water was obtained at the depth of three feet. After about an

hour a few shots began to be exchanged, but none of our force were hit for about an hour. A desultory fire continued up to about 11 A.M., up to which time five of the 92nd only had been slightly wounded, and were dressed by Landon and myself. At about 11 A.M. I went over to the west side of the plateau to see how Lieutenants Scott and Trower were getting on. I had hardly been there three minutes when I heard a bullet explode close to us. I heard the General say, 'Captain Romilly is hit,' and turning round saw General Colley kneeling by the side of the Commander, who was lying on the ground about four yards from us. I sent for a stretcher, and proceeded to dress the wound, which I found to perforate the left side of the abdomen and coming out of the loins. The bullet had only passed through soft parts, which accounts for it not exploding inside the body. I had him carried to the hospital. . . . I was returning to the hospital when I saw our force beginning a retreat, which soon became a rout. The Boers gained the rocks just above the hospital in great numbers, and poured a tremendous fire indiscriminately on everybody they saw. Dr. Landon and two of the A.H.C. were shot down whilst attending to the wounded, the former being mortally wounded. I then went back to the Commander, and fixed my handkerchief on a stick and held it up over him, but it was almost immediately shot away, and a hot volley fired all round us. Bevis then fixed a piece of lint on a bayonet, but was immediately twice shot through the helmet. I ordered him to lie down until the last of our men had passed us, and did the same myself. When the Boers had driven our men over the side of the hill, and had got within fifteen paces, I got up with a piece of lint in my hand, and shouted to them that I was a doctor, and had a wounded man with me. Two or three of the younger Boers wanted to shoot us, but were prevented by the elder men. The Boers then got all round us, and opened fire on our men retreating down the side of the hill. While they were thus engaged, Bevis and myself picked up the stretcher, and carried Commander Romilly back to where the hospital was. When about half way across we were surrounded by Boers, who were with great difficulty prevented from shooting the Commander as he lay, they being under the idea that he was either Sir Garnet Wolseley or Sir Evelyn Wood."

This brings to an end my chapter of odds and ends, or the last threads, and leaves me free to introduce my concluding remarks in the twenty-sixth and final chapter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Annexation Question—The Charges against Burgers—Ill-advised Proceedings—The Republican Government—Military Defects—Mistaken Tactics—The Bronckhorst Spruit Affair—The Amajuba Defeat—The Conduct of the Boers—The Medical Staff—British Colonial Policy—The South African Colonies—Sir T. Shepstone's Defence—Concluding views.

In taking a final retrospect of the causes, rise and end of the late war, a short summary of the various undoubted and admitted facts (as given in this work) may aid the memory and place the present position and future prospects of Transvaal affairs plainly before all. The great exodus on "trek" in 1833—the causes and course of which are fully given in previous chapters—produced for many years an unsettled state of affairs in all the regions north of the Orange River; and it was not until the Orange Free State had been relinquished to its Boer inhabitants, and the Treaty of Sand River in 1852 had given similar rights of freedom under their own laws to the Boers who were scattered beyond the Vaal River, that things began to settle themselves and some order was obtained out of chaos. Events went on slowly and with changing fortunes until President Burgers was elected to succeed Mr. M. W. Pretorius as the second President of the South African Republic, as the Transvaal was then denominated. This gentleman being a Hollander, although born at the Cape, naturally enough initiated and instituted a new order of things, more after the fashion of European States; and to aid him in his schemes

he called to his assistance other Hollanders, evidently not being able to find the materials necessary among the Boers of the State themselves. The new *régime* opened fairly; and when President Burgers went to Europe, was there recog nized as the head of an Independent State, and even arranged for a large loan for railway purposes, every one in South Africa looked forward hopefully. Unfortunately, neither the President nor his advisers, nor the people themselves, had calculated upon the almost complete absence of actual sympathy that there was, as between the slow, indolent, semi-educated, and patriarchal Boers and the more enterprising Hollanders and others of advanced ideas. This dissidence, however, soon began to manifest itself when the pockets of the Boers were more frequently touched; and it resulted gradually in alienating from the Government the confidence of the great mass of those inhabitants of the Republic who lived at long distances from the capital, and were, therefore, not capable of realising the benefits of the more civilized and European form of Government then being carried out. This state of things led to the abandonment of the war against Secocoeni, and the failure of the monetary arrangements and other schemes made for the carrying on of the Government, together with the payment of interest on the loans raised and the small national debt. Thus matters were brought, in 1877, nearly to a crisis.

As a matter of course, this was too good an opportunity to be neglected by a British Minister, whose ideas of the Confederation of all South Africa into one State under British supremacy were strong and ever present. Sir T. Shepstone was therefore despatched at this crisis with secret instructions, and evidently large discretionary powers, to consult and advise with the Transvaal Government under the circumstances then happening; and the excuse made for this visit was the old cry of alarm against "a general native rising or complications which might lead to such." What Sir T. Shepstone's real instructions were may perhaps remain unknown; but that he had authority to do as he did is as undoubted, as that the method in which he carried out his instructions was "childlike and bland." However much, therefore, one may approve or dis-

approve of the act of annexation itself, once that was effected by the orders, or at any rate, let me say, with the knowledge and subsequent consent of the British Government, there can be no two opinions but that the terms upon which it was done, and the promises made by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner in so doing, should have been strictly redeemed and carried out. It is even now a disputed point, though one in my opinion of little consequence, as to whether President Burgers consented voluntarily to the act of annexation, and issued a protest *pro formâ*, receiving afterwards a pension for his act; or whether he resisted it throughout in *bona fides*. At any rate, not very long ago—in the course of a controversy which arose in the public press, both in the Colony and in Holland, with the Rev. Lion Cachet (a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church) regarding his accusation against the former President of betraying his country for the sake of a pension—Mr. Burgers wrote to the editor of the *Zutphensche Courant*, and said, *inter alia*, that, "departing from the custom of defending himself, he nevertheless stated his readiness to render a true and faithful account of the pension question; but that he could shortly say that the whole affair was an invention, as neither from the British nor from the Transvaal Governments did he receive a pension; and he requested this most positive statement to be repeated."

But to return to the annexation itself: no active steps were taken, nor was any opposition made at the time by the Boers, doubtless owing to the advice and good offices of some of the leaders; but the perfectly legal and constitutional course was adopted of protesting against the act, and drawing up such memorials and statements of facts as would, they hoped, induce the British Government to annul Sir T. Shepstone's annexation upon further representation and the evidence of the truth. Of course, during the respective Administratorships of Sir T. Shepstone and Sir Owen Lanyon, the Boers undoubtedly have themselves to thank for many of their troubles; for they entertained, and openly evinced, such a profound hatred for everything that was British that they, at once, without a fair trial, condemned any measure, no matter what it was, or its

object. In consequence it was certainly a very difficult matter, without using a certain amount of severe authority, to try and govern to their advantage an alien people, who were determined not to be governed at all by the so-called and hated oppressors. After repeated deputations and memorials had been sent to Natal, to Cape Colony, and to England, the Boers found that their statements were laughed at, their acts ridiculed, and their unity, determination, and pluck not only doubted, but held in derision. This exasperated the younger Boers to such a pitch as to render them ripe for anything. Even then, however, a little conciliation, or the appointment of a well-known Colonial *civilian* as a Governor—who would exercise his authority only on the basis of their Constitution—with the promise of a Royal Commission to inquire into their grievances, would have been sufficient to pacify them. But no; blindly and wilfully the British Government allowed themselves to be led by the nose by a party of political pariahs and specious speculators, and a system of coercive, autocratic government was carried out by the military pro-consuls, who neither took into consideration the crass ignorance of the Boer people, nor made allowance for their total want of knowledge of a strong civilized Government. And so at last the Boers rose in desperation against their oppressors, saying, "Thrice they had fled and thrice they had been overtaken by the grasping spirit of the British Government; but now they would go no further." The result is known, and never was doubted by those who recognized the simple, true, brave spirit of the freedom-loving Boers, on the one hand, and the constant changes of political opinion and policy on the part of the British Government and nation. In vain, after the first outbreak, did the Government—who then realized the danger—successively offer easy terms, a Royal Commission, or partial abandonment of the country if the people would only disarm. It was then too late; no faith was placed in the promises of any English Ministry; and, with the example of how Natal had been treated before them, the Boers decided to risk their all upon entire liberty or extermination. The mediation of President Brand, the good wishes of Sir George Colley, and

the evident conciliatory and yielding spirit of the British Government were all of no avail, until the people had proved their determination and pluck, and had washed out some of their wrongs in blood. Then, and then only, could the leaders persuade the mass to listen to terms, with the result that peace was made.

The first acts of the Republican Government, which took up its head-quarters at Heidelberg, were doubtless sudden and severe; but, with a few exceptions, its subsequent conduct and acts were all that could be expected from a semi-civilized, unmilitary, but brave and determined people. Their proclamations, notices, and letters, although written in a vaunting, semi-religious style, yet bore the stamp of truth in their contents, and, taken together, form a practical and conclusive justification for their acts. In Sir George Pomeroy Colley the Boers saw and recognized an enemy brave, generous, and unprejudiced; and his constant attempts to carry out the war on a proper basis, from beginning to end, were acknowledged and met in the same spirit by the Triumvirate. The absurd question of Natal's neutrality was at once put upon a proper footing. Much as all Britons must regret the severe losses and sufferings of the British troops in the late campaign, it is admitted by all that they were out-generalled, out-shot, and over-matched in every way at the first. Of course there can be no question as to what the result would have been in the end had the conflict continued—although it might have caused a warfare of race throughout South Africa dreadful to contemplate—it could only have ended in what the Boers themselves call entire extermination.

If we look into the course of the war, the condition of the combatants, and the details of each engagement, the conclusion is unavoidable that, until some radical changes are introduced into our army, its old days of glory and pre-eminence are numbered. Attention must especially be given to the defects of the short-service system, causing loss of *esprit de corps*, and producing nothing but raw lads, brave and willing enough it is true, but wanting the requisite training and stamina—to the lack of mounted infantry (not irregular cavalry)—and to the

theoretical and staff training of the greater portion of our officers. These patent deficiencies, combined with the constant changes of successive Governments, and the waste of valuable lives in the conduct of our numerous little native wars—which are never worth the risk or the price, and do nothing in the end either to add to British glory or conquest—have prevented, and will still prevent, our service attaining that state of efficiency and pre-eminence hitherto considered as associated with, or as inseparable from, the British arms. The days of bayonet and cavalry charges, at least in Colonial wars, are gone by; the sword is almost useless and obsolete as a weapon, the revolver nearly as much so, except for close quarters; and sending our officers into battle, conspicuous as they are, unmounted and comparatively unarmed, is nothing but homicide when fighting against men armed with breech-loading weapons of precision in difficult or rocky country, where they know every inch of the ground, and can fight or decline as best suits them. Bravery alone—always a characteristic of the British officer—is now-a-days unavailing. And although, doubtless, it was incumbent on Sir George to advance to the borders of Natal and the Transvaal, in the hope of diverting the Boer strength from the sieges of the various garrisons in the Transvaal—which the General knew were weak and badly provided—there can be no doubt that after feeling the enemy's strength at Lang's Nek (when everything was done that could have been done by the force at his command) he should have fallen back, to await the arrival of reinforcements, to a good position, where he was not liable to have his communications cut off, and where he could threaten the enemy's retreat in the event of their advancing far into Natal.

The Bronckhorst Spruit affair was undoubtedly an unfortunate and somewhat equivocal act from the British point of view; but Colonel Anstruther had received ample warning to enable him to take adequate precautions, and to avoid being taken by surprise. An able writer, who had all the facts before him, expressed the following opinion, coinciding with my views, after the conclusion of the siege of Pretoria:—"Colonel Bellairs had sent off, on the evening of December 15th, a special mes-

senger with a letter to Lt.-Colonel Anstruther informing him of the serious nature of affairs, and cautioning him to guard against any sudden attack or surprise, and instructing him to send forward the natives (voerloopers, &c.), to reconnoitre along the tops of and over the hills before advancing. It is proved Lt.-Colonel Anstruther received this letter at six o'clock on the morning of the 17th December, while encamped on the Middleberg side of the Oliphant's River, and sent an answer the same morning by the messenger who had brought the letter. Notwithstanding these instructions scouting was very indifferently performed. There were only four men of the Mounted Infantry with the troops, and while on the march one man was always sent to the rise in front, and another to the highest hill commanding the surrounding country. The natives do not seem to have been used for scouting at all, which, considering the very small number of mounted men they had for performing that most necessary duty, was, in my opinion, a grave mistake. Even had scouting been efficiently performed, it is quite possible that the 94th might have met with defeat, outnumbered as they were by the Boers; but, at all events, they would not have been so thoroughly taken by surprise as they were." The men and officers undoubtedly behaved pluckily enough under the circumstances; but the mistake lay in ever having placed them in such a position as to become an easy prey, and give the *kudos* of the first victory—always a great point—to their enemies.

The fight on the Ingogo and Schuin's Hooghte was well carried out, and would perhaps have had a different ending had a larger force of mounted infantry been employed to keep off the attacks of the enemy until the guns were got into a good and unassailable position, well supported by the infantry. The shooting of our men was certainly inferior to that of the Boers, although both had little cover except what each man could individually gain. Here, more than ever, was shown the folly of fighting against irregulars, so to speak, after the fashion laid down and taught in the official drill books. Theory and knowledge of tactics are all very well against highly-trained, disciplined, and organized enemies, whose movements will be

based on similar principles. But when the enemy fights irregularly and on a totally different system, success is to be obtained solely, if at all, by meeting them with their own weapons, and by a ready method of adaptation to the practical circumstances. Evidence of the soundness of this line of reasoning is supplied by the occurrences of the Zulu and Afghan campaigns, where the British scarcely ever fought on the offensive, but mostly awaited the attack of the natives with varying success, when and where their enemy chose; and this because of the great difficulty and delay attendant on the transport and march of infantry and heavy cavalry. On the other hand, mounted infantry, pure and simple, can move with the utmost independence and rapidity, fight or decline an engagement as opportunity offers and as may seem best, and so harass the enemy as to make the advance of the main body more safe, rapid, and effective.

The ascent and attempt to hold the positions on the Amajuba, considered *per se*, must be acknowledged as a grave mistake, having regard to the number and mixed character of the force taken to effect the purpose. The position was certainly one of great strength if occupied by a number of men sufficient to hold the brow or outer edges, provided with a good supply of ammunition and provisions, and combined with an attack in strength by another force upon the main or flank position of the enemy. But, notwithstanding Sir Evelyn Wood's declaration that had Sir George Colley lived he would have satisfactorily explained his scheme, I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that, with the reinforcements so near at hand, and the presence of Sir Evelyn Wood, the movement was unnecessary, too incompletely organized and too hurriedly executed, and that it should certainly have been done, if at all, with Sir Evelyn Wood's knowledge, if not actually under his command. Sir George Colley had done everything that a good soldier and brave man could have done up to that time under the circumstances and with the force at his command; but his position, as Governor of Natal and High Commissioner, ought to have prevented his leading such desperate expeditions in person, especially when no combined advance movement or

general attack was contemplated. Another point, upon which great stress was laid at the time, must not be forgotten—viz., that the two regiments, which alone he then had at his disposal, were both composed of very young soldiers, who, though not wanting pluck, had neither the experience nor the confidence necessary to be relied upon for important movements and hazardous enterprises. This I say in no spirit of depreciation against the regiments themselves, among which I have very respected friends, but simply as recording facts, and as against the system at present in vogue, which allows such a state of things to be possible. I myself saw, during my stay amongst the Boers, that many of the rifles captured on this occasion were sighted at 200, 300, and in some cases 500 yards. I am also borne out in my views by the following extract from a letter written by Mrs. Montague (the wife of Major Montague, of the 94th Regiment)—who accompanied Lady Colley to the grave of her late husband at Mount Prospect—written to a friend in England. After describing the going up and back very vividly and pleasantly, she adds:—"In my next letter you will hear some more about Sir George's death. There seems no doubt he was left alone entirely; he could not run like all his men did. *This comes of commanding boys instead of men.* The officers did thoroughly well!"

The behaviour and mode of fighting of the Boers themselves has been described more fully in the former part of this book; but I would now wish to add the testimony of another "Special," of certainly anything but Boer proclivities, who says:—"The behaviour of the Boers has won them the respect of many who formerly held them in contempt. Hardly an officer is there who has had anything whatever to do with our late enemies but is very favourably impressed with them. Their kind treatment of the wounded, their pluck, their civility on all occasions when meetings have taken place, have done much to remove bad impressions. Their tactics have taught us lessons which might with great advantage be studied by men who are considered authorities on military matters. They move with a rapidity that, compared to the snail-like pace of our men, seems like lightning. Their doings are not cut and carved

by rule, precedent, and red-tape; good common sense governs their actions. While an English officer would be puzzling his brains over the rules and regulations of the service, unable to do this for fear of breaking that regulation, and yet afraid to do anything else because failure seemed certain, a Boer leader can mature his own plans as best suits the occasion; he gets his general instructions from his Commander-in-Chief, but there the hampering ends, and the instructions are not to be allowed to weigh for a moment against any act that may appear justified by circumstances; in short, a Boer leader, instead of being, as an English officer is, but a part of a great machine, very pretty to look at, but very cumbersome and at times useless, is a living, thinking human being, free to exercise his judgment, and move wherever he thinks he may be of the greatest service to the army to which he belongs. A man does not need to pass the Staff College to be a good General. Adjutant-General Smit, the great fighting man with the Boers, is a simple farmer; but he and Commandant-General Joubert defeated Sir George Pomeroy Colley, one of the most brilliant strategists in the whole English Army;—a man who was looked upon as one who would yet be amongst the greatest in the ranks of their leading commanders and generals."

In praise of all the garrisons too much cannot be said; but I think the palm must certainly be given to that of Potchefstrom, where the conduct, cheerfulness under extraordinary difficulties, and bravery, shown by the determined and plucky little band under Colonel Winsloe, deserves special reward, and ranks equal to the history of the besieged of Strasburg, or any other of the noted sieges during the eventful war of 1870–1.

The only part of the British Army organization which was complete and never failing was that of the Army Medical Department, under Surgeon-General Holloway, C.B., and the other medical officers, some of whom died on the field of battle, and all of whom worked splendidly throughout. The conduct of Surgeon McGann, and the military chaplain, Rev. G. M. St. M. Ritchie, at the Ingogo fight, and all through the terrible events which followed, when they were left alone on the field with the

dead, wounded, and dying, in a dark, cold, and rainy night, has been recounted before, and amply merited the mention and reward it will doubtless obtain. Then, again, at the Amajuba, Surgeons Landon and Cornish were either killed or died from wounds received while in the execution of their simple duty in attendance on the wounded during the engagement; while the work done afterwards by Surgeon-Majors Babington and Mahon was beyond all conception and praise.

In Pietermaritzburg—the base of operations and head-quarters of the line of communication—the routine work, though extremely heavy, was done thoroughly and without a hitch by Lieut.-Colonel Wavell, 41st Regiment, and the rest of the Staff; and, in fact, from the moment the war was determined upon by the British Government and reinforcements were sent on, the experience gained in the Zulu War was visible through all departments, and everything went smoothly, both in the landing operations at Durban, and the forwarding up country by the Transport and Commissariat Departments under Commissary-General Brownrigg, C.B.

The actions of the Liberal Government under Mr. Gladstone, from the beginning to the end of the whole miserable affair, can neither be said to have been guided by circumstances, necessary for political purposes, consistent, nor yet calculated to please either the Boers or the British out in the colony. It is true that some British statesmen now assert that the trade, commerce, and prosperity of Great Britain depend very much upon her colonies; but, until lately, many if not most of them thought that separation would be both best for the colonies and cheaper for the mother country. How fallacious this view is may be seen when our colonies are considered as being the natural and best outlets for our surplus labour and capital, much of which has, even up to now, been diverted to foreign countries, through the shortsightedness of the British Government and the paralyzing action of the Inquisitorial Department of the Secretary of State for the Colonies—yclept "the Colonial Office." With regard to Colonial Loans, it will be generally admitted that the general public who subscribe to them have more faith in them, because, somehow or the other,

they have come to a practical sense of their value. If we look at the grand total of Colonial Loans which have been raised in England, and then reflect that the interest on those loans is paid with the regularity of the dividends of the Bank of England, we shall discover that from this source of revenue alone English capitalists are benefited to the extent of millions sterling annually. Then, as these loans are generally applied to purposes necessitating the expenditure of large sums for material, England benefits again by being called upon to supply it. In the face of these facts, then, it is folly to contend, as some writers do contend, that our colonial possessions are overgrown and too great for the mother country to support; because, in the light of the fact that the colonies are self-supporting, this is an evident contradiction. It may be news, perhaps, to people who argue in this way, to tell them that England's prosperity is likely to increase rather than to diminish just in proportion as the colonies become "overgrown," or just in the ratio in which labour and capital can find reproductive employment.

Of course, as regards the South African Colonies, it will be said, indeed it is said, that the Native Question is such a bugbear as to prevent that attention being paid to them as a field for emigration or investment as would otherwise be done. This view may be perfectly correct at present; but as schemes are now being arranged for a projected strong native policy to be adopted mutually throughout all the South African States, I hope in the course of a few years that the anomaly of an English colony, like Natal, encouraging a native race in idleness, and security, without an adequate payment in the shape of taxes—with a High Court, presided over by an English Judge, to encourage polygamy, and enforce the payment of *lobola*, or purchase-money for wives, and other repugnant native laws and customs—may be swept away, and a brighter time set in for all. When that time shall come, and come soon it must; when the Crown lands shall be cleared of the numerous unauthorized native squatters, and thrown open upon a cheap and broad system to European occupation; when tribal chieftainship, polygamy, and native locations are done away with; then, and

then only, will the Kaffirs be obliged to work for a certain portion of the year; and in return for the security of law and order given to them they will willingly pay taxes, and thus contribute a large share to the Colonial revenue, lightening the heavy burdens now entirely borne by the white inhabitants. Then they may begin to learn more thrifty habits, and feel the benefits of civilization. And surely, if, in all these past forty years, the small white population in Natal have been able to keep peace among the native inhabitants of this colony, who outnumber them by nearly thirty to one, even under the present admittedly bad system, when a united native policy shall have been inaugurated between all the States and Colonies, the native question ought no longer to be looked upon as a bugbear; and British interference, and the continued presence of Imperial troops throughout South Africa will cease to be a necessary evil.

To return to the more immediate question of the Transvaal. Many attempts were made to obtain from Sir T. Shepstone a public statement of his views during the outbreak and continuance of hostilities; but, although he made a semi-private statement to General Vaughan, the Special Commissioner of *The Times*, which was published in that paper, this justification for his past acts and present silence contained little else than I have before given on the subject. After peace was declared, however, the Press of the Transvaal was resuscitated, and so strongly attacked Sir T. Shepstone that they obtained the following straightforward and manly letter from him, which, as being his only public utterance on the subject, I have much pleasure in bringing before my readers. The letter was addressed to the Editor of the *Transvaal Argus*, and dated June 17th, 1881:—

"Sir,—In a sub-leader that appears in your paper of the 4th inst. you comment, with perhaps not unnatural severity, upon what you describe as my 'taciturnity at the present juncture.' It seems to you that some action on my part is demanded by the position in which affairs at present stand; you remind me that I am primarily answerable for the present condition of the loyal residents of the Transvaal; that it was I who acted as the agent and representative of England in taking

over the country; and that it was on the guarantee of promises made by me, on behalf of the English Government, that men of capital and energy went into the Transvaal and did their best to develop the resources of the land.

"You proceed to say, one would have thought that, under the circumstances, a chivalrous regard for those who believed in the promises, of which I was the official and recognized mouth-piece, would have induced me to break a lance in defence of the policy initiated by me, and yet I remain 'mute as a fish.' This 'taciturnity' or 'muteness' you attribute to 'moral cowardice,' although, in doing so, you disclaim the wish to do me injustice.

"You are right in crediting me with the belief that 'silence is golden,' and especially do I believe it to be so, when speech would be ineffectual or mischievous; no one, I venture to say, has been more deeply grieved by the course which events have taken in the Transvaal than I have been, or has felt more keenly the consequences which have followed the act which I carried out as the Representative of Her Majesty's Government in that country; and no one can sorrow more sincerely than I do for the sufferings and losses of those who believed, as I did, in the promises ministerially made by me on that occasion; and this sense of grief and sorrow is intensified tenfold by the reflection that all the bloodshed, the misery to the survivors of the hundreds killed, the bitterness of feeling, and the ruin of perhaps thousands, which this unnatural struggle has caused, to say nothing of prospective evils, *were wholly unnecessary, and might have been avoided.*

"But what action on my part would have prevented all this, or could remedy what has happened? Would defence of the policy 'initiated by me' have had either of these effects? Is the Annexation doubted? Are the promises made by me in the name of Her Majesty's Government denied? Could any justification of these passages in the history of the Transvaal, four years ago, have changed or modified what has taken place during the last seven months? In my judgment nothing that I could have said or done would have availed to change the current of events in any way, and nothing that I can say or do

now would have any other effect than to damage or to irritate. The considerations which have led me to arrive at these conclusions are precisely those upon which you urge the opposite course; my duty to all concerned, and especially to the sufferers, seems to me, for the present at least, to impose silence, not the silence of indifference, but that which is dictated by sincere respect and deep sympathy.

"You refer me to the service which Sir Bartle Frere has done, and urge that such service might well be imitated and emulated by me. Sir Bartle Frere, you say, and say truly, has had infinitely less to do with politics in the Transvaal than I have; and in saying this, you give the reason why that which might be proper and effective, if done by such an eminent statesman as Sir Bartle Frere, would be out of place and mischievous if done by me. I may be wrong, but you must allow me the privilege of acting as I believe to be becoming and right, and possibly you may, on further consideration, be inclined to admit that the method adopted by Sir Bartle Frere, although perhaps the only method by which those concerned may become aware of his sympathy and good service, is not the only way in which good service may be rendered; and if you admit this, you will, I think, be unable to resist the further admission that you have assumed a little more than you had any right to assume."—This plain-dealing letter speaks for itself, and needs no comment.

I had intended writing a few lines upon the present aspect of affairs in the Transvaal (October, 1881) and their probable outcome; but the action of the Volksraad in delaying to ratify the Convention, the consequent movement of troops in this Colony, and the firm stand at last made by Mr. Gladstone, combine to throw so much uncertainty over the future course of events, that I am induced to let matters be—only remarking that it will require many months of firm, straightforward action on the part of the New Transvaal Government to carry out their ideas, and to imbue their followers with the absolute necessity of acting up to the laws issued for their government, and of giving a united and frank support to the Executive in their every attempt to execute them. The Boers have certainly no

cause to grumble at the terms granted them, and I trust that they will not "lose the reality in grasping at the shadow," as others have done before them; but that they will see the expediency and wisdom of working in concert and amity with the British and surrounding Colonial Governments, for the general good, and the advancement of South Africans of all nationalities, irrespective of colour, race, or creed.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge the uniform kindness and assistance shown me both in Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, by those who, knowing my errand, might have otherwise hindered my object and placed great obstacles in my way, and thus have made my task harder, if not impossible. In the publication of this work I cannot, of course, hope that every one should agree with my views; but I have endeavoured to place the facts fairly, plainly, and consecutively before my readers, so as to enable them to have a thorough understanding of the great questions now troubling South Africa, both "Boer, Black and British." My knowledge of and stay among the Boers of the Orange Free State and Transvaal will not have been in vain, if they have enabled me to succeed in this object.

I find I have omitted to give an official statement of the total losses of the Boers throughout this war, and to remedy this I have placed them with some other interesting details in the Appendix Q, along with a short biography of the five principal Leaders.

APPENDIX.

SOUTH AFRICAN CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	A.D.
Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartholomew Diaz	1486
Discovery of Natal by Vasco de Gama	1497
A Dutch Company obtained Charter of Ports, &c., beyond the Cape	1602
Dr. Van Riebeeck arrives and founds the Cape for the Company	1652
First Cargo of Slaves arrived in the Colony from Guinea	1658
Quarrels with Native Hottentots ended and their Lands bought	1671–2
First War between Dutch and Kaffirs	1683
Natal first visited by the English	1683
Arrival of French and other Refugees at Cape	1685–9
First Vineyard planted at Constantia, Cape Colony	1688
Fish River constituted Eastern Boundary	1778
Cape Settlement first captured by British	1795
South African Library started at Cape Town (first commenced 1761)	1800
Cape restored to the Dutch	1803
British capture it again after Battle of Blueberg	1806
Last Cargo of Slaves arrived	1807
Boers reach northward to Graaff-Reinet (established a Magistracy in 1786)	1811
First Kaffir Border War	1811
Natal first visited by Zulus	1812
Cape Colony finally ceded by Holland to Great Britain by Convention	1814
"Slaghter Nek" Rebellion at Cape	1815
N'Gaika acknowledged Supreme Chief of the Amascosa	1817
War with Amascosa Chiefs	1818
Cape Colony Boundary on East extended to Keiskamma River	1819
First British Settlers located in Albany District	1820
Natal devastated by Zulus under Charka	1820
Royal Observatory founded at Cape Town	1820
Waterboer succeeds Adam Kok as Chief of the Griquas in Griqualand West, and Adam Kok and his People located in Griqualand East	1821
Proclamation of Lord C. Somerset against Public Meetings	1822
Lieutenant Farewell and Mr. Fynn arrive at Natal	1823
Memorial sent by Cape Colonists to Great Britain	1823
First Lighthouse erected and Newspaper issued at the Cape	1824

	A.D.
First Royal Commission sent out	1826
Exclusive use of English Language ordered	1827
Dutch Courts of Law first abolished at Cape	1828
Zulu King Charka died	1828
Kat River Hottentot Settlement	1829
Griquas attack Umzilyazi, Chief of the Amatabili	1831
Exodus of Dutch Boers first commenced	1833
Convention with Waterboer for defence of Northern Boundary	1834
Slavery abolished at the Cape	1833-4
Boer Emigration over Drakensberg to Natal	1834
Second Kaffir Cape War	1834–5
Fingoes released from Slavery and located between Fish and Keiskamma Rivers	1835
Potgieter's Party settle in Orange Free State	1836
Battle between Boers and Amatabili	1836
Pieter Retief and Party arrive in Natal	1836
Dingaan massacres Pieter Retief and his Party, while on a Visit in Zululand	1837
Defeat of Zulu Army, under Dingaan, by Pretorius and 460 Boers	1838
Pietermaritzburg and Durban laid out by Boers	1838
Battles at Tugela Mouth between British and Native Allies and Zulus	1838
Major Charteris, with Detachment of Soldiers, occupies Port Natal	1838
Abandonment of Natal by Captain Jervis	1839
Boers and Zulu Allies, under Umpanda, defeat Dingaan	1840
Umpanda proclaimed King of Zululand by Pretorius	1840
Mr. Justice Menzies crossed Orange River and declared British Sovereignty to 25 degs. S. lat. and 22 degs. E. long.	1842
Second Military Occupation of Natal by British	1842
Engagement between Military and Boers at Durban	1842
Reinforcements arrive from Cape and Boers retreat	1842
Natal recognized as being a British Dependency	1843
Battle of Zwaart Kop between Boers and British	1844
Natal annexed as District of Cape Colony	1845
Third Kaffir Cape War, called the "War of the Axe"	1846
Martin West, Esq., appointed First Lieutenant-Governor	1847
A. Pretorius journeys from Natal to Cape to represent Grievances	1847
Battle of Boomplaats, between Boers and British in Orange Free State	1848
Orange River Sovereignty declared British Colony	1848
Anti-Convict Movement at Cape	1849
War in Orange Free State with Basutos under Moshesh	1850
Fourth Kaffir Cape War	1850–1–2
Rebellion of Kat River Settlement Hottentots	1851
Battle of Berea between Basutos and British in Orange Free State	1852
Sand River Convention declaring Independence of Transvaal	1852
General A. Pretorius died, and his Son, M. W. Pretorius, succeeds him as President of the Transvaal	1853
Pietermaritzburg created a City and Bishop's See—Dr. Colenso first Bishop	1853
Orange Free State abandoned to Boers by Convention of Bloemfontein	1854
Tragedy of Potgieter's Rust and Makapan's Caves	1854

	A.D.
Mr. Boshoff appointed First President, Orange Free State	1854
Matyana's Affair in Natal	1857
First Transvaal Free Constitution (Grondwet) drawn up	1858
Wars between Basutos and Boers of Orange Free State	1858–64–66
M. W. Pretorius elected Second President Orange Free State	1860
Griquas moved from Orange Free State to "No-man's-land"	1860
M. W. Pretorius retires back to Transvaal	1863
Internecine Boer quarrels in Transvaal	1863–69–74–79
President Brand elected Third President Orange Free State	1864
Carl Manch and Hartley discovered North-East Gold Fields	1865
Transvaal Paper Currency issued	1865
First Diamond found in South Africa	1867
Pretorius resigns his Transvaal Presidentship	1868
Basutos become British Subjects	1868
Basuto Boundary Line defined by Aliwal North Convention	1869
First Diamond found at Kimberley, Griqualand West	1869
Griqualand West ceded to British by Waterboer	1871
Pretorius succeeded by Dr. T. F. Burgers as Transvaal President	1872
Responsible Government granted to Cape Colony	1872
Umpanda, King of Zululand, died, and succeeded by Cetywayo	1872
Leydenberg and Marabastadt Gold Fields discovered	1872–3
Langalibalele's Rebellion in Natal	1873
Dr. Livingstone died	June, 1873
Diamond Fields Rebellion	1873
Cetywayo crowned by Sir T. Shepstone in Zululand	Sept. 2, 1873
Stamps and Gold Coinage issued in Transvaal	1873–4
First steps at Confederation by Lord Carnarvon	1874
"No-man's-land" annexed to Cape Colony	1875
President Burgers left for Europe	1875
British Government paid Orange Free State £90,000, in settlement of Diamond Fields' Claim	1876
Judge A. Stockenstrom appointed to Special Land Court in Griqualand West	1876
First Confederation Conference in London	1876
Transvaal First War with Secocoeni	1876–7
Secocoeni sues for Peace	1877
Sir T. Shepstone annexes the Transvaal	April 12, 1877
Arrival of 13th Regiment (P. A. L. I.) at Pretoria	1877
British Flag hoisted at Pretoria	May 25, 1877
Fifth Kaffir Cape War against Gaikas and Galekas	1877
Zulu Boundary Commission in Natal	February, 1878
Outbreak in Griqualand East of Pondos and Griquas	1878
Fighting between Konannas and Damaras in Namaqualand	1878
80th Regiment and Volunteer Corps sent up to Transvaal, also 90th Regiment	July, 1878
Second Secocoeni Campaign	1878
Boer Deputation to England with Protest	1878
Zulu War, Border crossed	January 10, 1879
Boers held great Meeting near Pretoria	January 10 „
Sirayo's Kraal attacked	January 12 „
Isandwhlana Massacre	January 22 „
Gallant Defence of Rorke's Drift	January 22 „
Colonel Pearson's Fight at Inyezane River	January 22 „

	A.D.
Sir Bartle Frere's meeting at Pietermaritzburg with Boer Deputation . . . . . February 4,	1879
Sir Owen Lanyon arrives at Pretoria as Administrator . . March 4	„
Intombi River Massacre . . . . . March 12	„
Fight at Zhlobane Mount . . . . . March 28	„
Battle of Kambula . . . . . March 29	„
„ Umguganhlovo . . . . . April 2	„
Relief of Ekowe . . . . . April 3	„
Attack on Moroisi's Mount, Cape Colony . . . April 8	„
Sir Bartle Frere reaches Pretoria . . . . . April 10	„
„ attends great Boer Meeting at Kleinfontein, April 12	„
The Prince Imperial of France killed . . . . June 1	„
Arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley at Natal . . . June 28	„
Battle of Ulundi . . . . . July 4	„
Griqualand West Outbreak quelled . . . . July 28	„
Fight between Amapondas and Xesibes . . . August 1	„
Cetywayo captured . . . . . August 28	„
Sir Garnet arrives at Pretoria . . . . . September 27	„
„ commences Third Campaign against Secocoeni, October —	„
„ attacks Secocoeni's Town . . . November 28	„
Moroisi's Mount taken, Cape Colony . . . November	„
Secocoeni captured . . . . . December 2	„
Third great Boer Meeting near Pretoria . . December 10–17	„
Ocean Cable opened to England . . . . December —	„
Arrest of Pretorius, Bok, and Erasmus for Treason January	1880
Sir Garnet Wolseley's gift of Constitution to Transvaal, March	„
Sir Garnet Wolseley left the Transvaal . . . April 4	„
Sir George Pomeroy Colley as Governor of Natal . July	„
Sir Bartle Frere recalled from Cape . . . . August	„
Sir G. Colley visits the Transvaal . . . . August	„
Arrest of J. F. Celliers, Editor of *Volkstem*, for Treason, October	„
Natal Government Railways opened to Pietermaritzburg, October	„
Fourth Boer Mass Meeting at Paarde Kraal . December 8–13	„
Republic re-proclaimed at Heidelberg . . . December 16	„
Bronkhorst Spruit Disaster . . . . . December 20	„
Sir O. Lanyon proclaims Martial Law . . . December 21	„
Potchefstrom, Pretoria, and other Garrison Towns besieged, December, 1880, to March,	1881
Murder of Captain Elliott on Vaal River . . . December 29,	1880
Cape Colony and Great Basuto War	1880–1
Sir G. P. Colley advances with Natal Field Force from Newcastle . . . . . January 24,	1881
Lang's Nek Engagement . . . . . January 28	„
Schuin's Hooghte or Ingogo Fight . . . . February 8	„
General Sir E. Wood reaches Newcastle with Indian Column . . . . . February 17	„
Orange Free State Volksraad opened . . . February 18	„
The Amajuba Fight and Death of General Colley . February 27	„
Armistice signed for eight days . . . . March 6	„
President Brand arrives at Newcastle . . . March 19	„
Terms of Peace agreed to . . . . . March 23	„
Sir O. Lanyon left Pretoria . . . . . April 8	„
Royal Commission opened in Newcastle . . . . May 10	„

		A.D.
Royal Commission left for Pretoria	June 2,	1881
Trials for Murder of Malcolm and Captain Elliott at Pretoria	June 18–25	„
Convention signed by Triumvirate	August 3	„
Government transferred	August 8	„
New Volksraad opened at Pretoria	September 21	„
Trial for Murder of Dr. Barbour, held at Harrismith, Orange Free State	September 27–29	„
Convention ratified	October 25	„
Evacuation of the Transvaal by the last British Troops (N Battery, 5th Brigade R.A., and 21st Regt. R.S.F. under Colonel Gildea	November 18	„
Great Thanksgiving Meeting of the Boers at Paardekraal, for popular Confirmation of the Convention	December 13–16	„

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS USED IN SOUTH AFRICA.

TERMS.	DERIVATIONS.	MEANING.
Achter.	Dutch	Behind.
Ama	Kaffir	Plural prefix, as Amaswazie.
Baai	Dutch	Gulf or bay.
Baaken	Dutch	Landmark or beacon.
Bad	Dutch	A hot spring.
Berg	Dutch	Mountain.
Bergen	Dutch	Mountains.
Boer	Dutch	A peasant farmer.
Bokkeveld	Dutch	Country fit for goat rearing.
Bosch	Dutch	Thicket or bush.
Boschjes	Dutch	Little bushes or clumps.
Bron	Dutch	A spring.
Burg	Dutch	Town.
Burgher	Dutch	A citizen, by birth, qualification, or naturalization, entitled to vote.
Commando	Dutch	A forced levy of armed burghers, as allowed by early Cape laws.
Dal	Dutch	A dale.
Donga	Dutch	A dry watercourse, or deep cleft.
Dorp	Dutch	Village.
Drift	Dutch	A ford over a river
Droogeveld	Dutch	Dry country.
Duinen	Dutch	Bush-covered sand-hills.
Eiland or Eyland.	Dutch	An island or islet.
Fontein	Dutch	Fountain or spring.
Gat	Dutch	A hole or deep reach in a river or stream.
Gebergte	Dutch	A range of mountains.
Grasveld	Dutch	Grassy plains.
Grensveld	Dutch	Frontier district.
Grondwet	Dutch	Basis of Constitution.
Hangklip	Dutch	An overhanging rock or mountain.
Hardeveld	Dutch	Rocky or stony country.
Heuvel	Dutch	A height.
Hoek	Dutch	A corner, or retired valley.
Hoogeveld	Dutch	High region.
Hoogte	Dutch	Heights.
Impi	Kaffir	An army.
Inbocken	Dutch	Indentured.
Indaba	Kaffir	A talk or palaver.
Induna	Kaffir	Petty chief or headman.
Kaap	Dutch	A cape.
Kaffir	Arabic	Generic term for all South African black races.

TERMS.	DERIVATIONS.	MEANING.
Kamma	Hottentot	Water (used as affix to rivers, as Keiskamma).
Karroo	Hottentot	Desert district covered with low scrubby plants.
Klein	Dutch	Small or little.
Klip	Dutch	Large stone or isolated rock.
Kriejsraad	Dutch	A War Council.
Kloof	Dutch	Mountain pass.
Kolk	Dutch	Hole or pit.
Kop	Dutch	A head, or small hill.
Kopjie	Dutch	A small hill.
Kondeveld	Dutch	High region.
Kraal	Dutch	Cattle enclosure, or Native village.
Kranz	Dutch	A rocky precipice.
Kuil	Dutch	A cave.
Laager	Dutch	A defensive enclosure or camp, properly formed with waggons.
Laagte	Dutch	Valley, or lowland.
Maatschappij	Dutch	A Republic, or Free State.
Moeras	Dutch	A marsh or bog.
Mond	Dutch	The mouth of a river.
Nek	Dutch	Depression in mountain range.
'N	Kaffir	Prefix to names or places, as "N'Gaika."
Omtrek	Dutch	Certain extent of land.
Oom	Dutch	Uncle.
Paard	Dutch	A horse.
Pan	Dutch	A surface depression, in which water or salt collects.
Plaatberg	Dutch	Flat topped mountain.
Plaats	Dutch	Location or place.
Poort	Dutch	A gate, or opening in mountain range.
Puit	Dutch	Pit or well.
Rand	Dutch	The high land lying on each side of a river valley.
Rivier	Dutch	A river.
Roodeberg	Dutch	Red mountain.
Rooi Battje	Dutch	Red coat or soldier.
Ruggens	Dutch	A ridge-covered country.
Span	Dutch	A team of oxen, generally sixteen
Spitzkop	Dutch	A peaked or sugar-loaf hill.
Spruit	Dutch	Small stream.
Strandveld	Dutch	A coast-lying district.
Tafelberg	Dutch	A flat or table-topped mountain.
'Thab	Kaffir	Mountain, as 'Thab-Inkulu.
Trek	Dutch	To move from place to place.
Trekveld	Dutch	Country not yet subdivided into farms.
Uitkyk	Dutch	An outlook, or locality giving a good view.
Um	Kaffir	A prefix signifying river, as Umvuloosi.
Vallie, Vlei or Vley	Dutch	A valley, low ground, or shallow water.

TERMS.	DERIVATIONS.	MEANING.
Veld	Dutch	A field or large extent of country.
Vlakte	Dutch	Low plains or flats.
Volksraad	Dutch	People's Council or Legislative Assembly.
Voorlooper	Dutch	Leader of span of oxen, or advanced settler.
Voortrekker	Dutch	Early pioneer in new country.
Waschbank	Dutch	Quartz-covered country, looking white
Winterveld or Bushveld	Dutch	Winter location for farmer's stock, always fever-stricken in summer and wet season.
Witte Bergen	Dutch	White mountains, *i.e.* snow peaks.
Woonplaats	Dutch	Homestead, farm, or dwelling
Zandveld	Dutch	Sandy district.
Zee	Dutch	The sea or ocean.
Zoeteveld	Dutch	Sweet grass-covered country.
Zuurberg	Dutch	Mountain range, covered with sour grasses.
Zuurveld	Dutch	A country or district covered with sour grasses.
Zwart	Dutch	Black.
Zwart Berg or Kop	Dutch	A black or dark mountain.

This glossary can be relied on as being complete and absolutely correct, and the only one as yet published in any work on South Africa.

Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
September, 1881.

APPENDIX A.

ANNEXATION OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Commission appointing Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., of Natal, to be a Special Commissioner for certain Purposes.

VICTORIA R.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India: To Our Trusty and Well-beloved SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, Knight Commander of our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, greeting:—

Whereas grievous disturbances have broken out in the territories adjacent to our colonies in South Africa, with war between the white inhabitants and the native races, to the great peril of the peace and safety of our said colonies; and whereas, having regard to the safety of our said colonies, it greatly concerns us that full inquiry should be made into the origin, nature, and circumstances of the said disturbances, and with respect to the measures to be adopted for preventing the recurrence of the like disturbances in the future; and whereas, it may become requisite to this end that the said territories or portions of them should be administered in our name and on our behalf, now know you that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty and fidelity of you, the said Sir Theophilus Shepstone, have appointed you to be our Special Commissioner for the purpose of making such inquiry as aforesaid, and we do authorize and require you with all convenient dispatch, and by all lawful ways and means, to enter upon such inquiry, and we do require you to communicate to us, through one of our Principal Secretaries of State, any facts which ought to be made known to us, as well as any opinions which you may think fit to express thereon, and if the emergency should seem to you to be such as to render it necessary, in order to secure the peace and safety of our said colonies, and of our subjects elsewhere, that the said territories, or any portion or portions of the same should provisionally, and pending the announcement of our pleasure, be administered in our name and on our behalf, then, and in such case only, we do further authorize you, the said Sir Theophilus Shepstone, by proclamation under your hand, to declare that from and after a day to be therein named so much of any such territories as aforesaid as to you, after due consideration, shall seem fit, shall be annexed to, and form part of our dominions. And we do hereby constitute and appoint you to be thereupon Administrator of the same provisionally and until our pleasure is more fully known. Provided, first: That no such proclamation shall be issued by you with respect to any district, territory, or state, unless you shall be satisfied that the inhabitants thereof, or a sufficient number of them, or the Legislature thereof desire to become our subjects; nor if any conditions unduly limiting our power and authority therein are sought to be imposed

And, secondly, that unless the circumstances of the case are such as, in your opinion, make it necessary to issue a proclamation forthwith, no such proclamation shall be issued by you until the same has been submitted to and approved by our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Barkly, Knight Grand Cross of our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, our Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and our Commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the territories adjacent or contiguous to the Eastern Frontier of our said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. And we do further require that you do in all things conform to such instructions as shall at any time be addressed to you by us through one of our Principal Secretaries of State; and we do strictly charge and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other our faithful subjects, that in their several places, and according to their respective powers and opportunities, they be aiding to you in the execution of this our commission. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court, at Balmoral, this fifth day of October, 1876, in the fortieth year of our reign. By Her Majesty's Command, CARNARVON.

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for certain Purposes in South Africa.

Whereas at a meeting held on the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, at the Sand River, between Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners, Major Hogge and C. M. Owen, Esq., on the one part, and a deputation from the emigrant farmers then residing north of the Vaal River, at the head of which was Commandant-General A. W. J. Pretorius, on the other part, the said Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners did "guarantee in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government:

And whereas the evident objects and inciting motives of the Assistant Commissioners in granting such guarantee or permission to persons who were Her Majesty's subjects were "to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse" with and among the inhabitants of the Transvaal, in the hope and belief that the territory which a few years afterwards, namely, in February, 1858, became known by the style and title of "The South African Republic," would become a flourishing and self-sustaining State, a source of strength and security to neighbouring European communities, and a point from which Christianity and civilization might rapidly spread towards Central Africa:

And whereas the hopes and expectations upon which this mutual compact was reasonably and honourably founded have been disappointed, and the circumstances as set forth more at length in my address to the people, of to-day's date, hereunto attached, show that increasing weakness in the State itself on the one side, and more than corresponding growth of real strength and confidence among the native tribes on the other, have produced their natural and inevitable consequences, as will

more fully appear from a brief allusion to the facts that, after more or less of irritating contact with aboriginal tribes to the north, there commenced about the year 1867 gradual abandonment to the natives, in that direction, of territory settled by burghers of this State, in well-built towns and villages, and on granted farms; that this was succeeded by the extinction of all effective rule over extensive tracts of country, included within the boundaries of the State, and as a consequence by the practical independence, which still continues, of large native tribes residing therein, who had until then considered themselves subjects:

That some few farmers, unwilling to forfeit homes which they had created for their families, and to which they held grants from the Government of the Transvaal, which grants had, however, ceased and still fail to protect them in their occupation, made terms with the chiefs, and now occupy their farms on condition of periodical payments to those chiefs, notwithstanding the acknowledgment which such payments involve: That this decay of power and ebb of authority in the north is being followed by similar processes in the south, under yet more dangerous circumstances, people of this State residing in that direction have been compelled within the last three months, at the bidding of native chiefs, and at a moment's notice, to leave their farms and homes, their standing crops, some of which were ready for reaping, and other property, all to be taken possession of by natives, but that the Government is more powerless than ever to vindicate its assumed rights, or to resist the declension that is threatening its existence; that all confidence in its stability once felt by surrounding and distant European communities has been withdrawn; that commerce is well nigh destroyed; that the country is in a state of bankruptcy; that the white inhabitants, discontented with their condition, are divided into factions; that the Government has fallen into helpless paralysis from causes which it has been and is unable to control or counteract; and that the prospect of the election of a new President, so far from allaying the general anxiety, or from inspiring hope in the future, is looked forward to by all parties as most likely to result in civil war with its attendant anarchy and bloodshed:

That the condition above described affords strong temptation to neighbouring native powers, who are known to be anxious and ready to do so, to make attacks and inroads upon the State, which from its weakness it cannot repel, and from which it has hitherto been saved by the restraining influence of the British Government, exercised from Natal by Her Majesty's representative in that colony, in the hope, yet unfulfilled, that a friendly understanding might be arrived at between the Government of the Transvaal and the complaining native chiefs:

That the Secocoeni war, which would have produced but little effect upon a healthy Constitution, has not only proved suddenly fatal to the resources and reputation of the Republic, but has shown itself to be a culminating point in the history of South Africa, in that a Makatee or Basuto tribe, unwarlike, and of no account in Zulu estimation, successfully withstood the strength of the State, and disclosed for the first time to the native powers outside the Republic, from the Zambesi to the Cape, the great change that had taken place in the relative strength of the white and black races; that this disclosure at once shook the prestige of the white man in South Africa, and placed every European community in peril; that this common danger has caused universal anxiety, has given to all concerned the right to investigate its causes,

and to protect themselves from its consequences, and has imposed the duty upon those who have the power to shield enfeebled civilization from the enroachments of barbarism and inhumanity:

And whereas the inherent weakness of this Government and State from causes above alluded to and briefly set forth, and the fact that the past policy of the Republic has not only failed to conciliate the friendship and goodwill, but has forfeited the respect, of the overwhelming native populations within and beyond its boundaries, which together probably exceed one-and-a-half millions, render it certain that the Transvaal will be the first to suffer from the consequences of a pressure that has already reduced its political life to so feeble a condition:

And whereas the ravaging of an adjoining friendly State by warlike savage tribes cannot for a moment be contemplated by Her Majesty's Government without the most earnest and painful solicitude, both on account of the miseries which such an event must inflict upon the inhabitants of the Transvaal, and because of the peril and insecurity to which it would expose Her Majesty's possessions and subjects in South Africa; and seeing that the circumstances of the case have, from the inherent weakness of the country already touched upon, become so grave, that neither this country nor the British colonies in South Africa can be saved from the most calamitous circumstances except by the extension over this State of Her Majesty's authority and protection, by means of which alone oneness of purpose and action can be secured, and a fair prospect of peace and prosperity in the future be established:

And whereas I have been satisfied by the numerous addresses, memorials, and letters which I have received, and by the abundant assurances which personal intercourse has given me, that a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Transvaal see in a clearer and stronger light than I am able to describe them, the urgency and imminence of the circumstances by which they are surrounded, the ruined condition of the country, and the absence within it of any element capable of rescuing it from its depressed and afflicted state, and therefore earnestly desire the establishment within and over it of Her Majesty's authority and rule; and whereas the Government has been unable to point out or devise any means by which the country can save itself, and as a consequence relieve the other white communities of South Africa from the danger of the dire events certain speedily to result from the circumstances by which it is surrounded, and can entertain no reasonable hope that it possesses, or is likely under its present form of Government to possess, the means to raise itself to a safe and prosperous condition:

And whereas the emergency seems to me to be such as to render it necessary, in order to secure the peace and safety of the Transvaal territory, as well as the peace and safety of Her Majesty's colonies and of Her Majesty's subjects elsewhere, that the said Transvaal territory should provisionally and pending the announcement of Her Majesty's pleasure be administered in Her Majesty's name and on her behalf:

Now, therefore, I do, in virtue of the power and authority conferred upon me by Her Majesty's Royal Commission, dated at Balmoral, the fifth day of October, 1876, and published herewith, and in accordance with instructions conveyed to me thereby and otherwise, proclaim and make known that, from and after the publication hereof, the territory heretofore known as the South African Republic, as now measured and bounded, subject however to such local modifications as may hereafter appear necessary, and as may be approved of by Her Majesty, shall be

and shall be taken to be British territory, and I hereby call upon and require the inhabitants of the Transvaal, of every class and degree, and all Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa to take notice of this my Proclamation and to guide themselves accordingly.

And I hereby further proclaim and declare that I shall hold responsible all such persons who in the Transvaal shall venture opposition, armed or otherwise, to Her Majesty's authority hereby proclaimed, or who shall by seditious and inflammatory language or exhortations or otherwise incite or encourage others to offer such opposition, or who shall injure, harass, disturb, or molest others because they may not think with them on political matters; and I do warn all such that upon conviction of any of the above offences they will be liable to the severe penalties which the law in such cases ordains; and I hereby appeal to and call upon the orderly, right-thinking, and peace-loving people of the Transvaal to be aiding and supporting Her Majesty's authority.

And I proclaim further that all legal courts of justice now in existence for the trial of criminal or civil cases or questions are hereby continued and kept in full force and effect, and that all decrees, judgments and sentences, rules and orders, lawfully made or issued, or to be made or issued by such courts shall be as good and valid as if this Proclamation had not been published; all civil obligations, all suits and actions, civil, criminal, or mixed, and all criminal acts here committed, which may have been incurred, commenced, done, or committed before the publication of this Proclamation, but which are not fully tried and determined, may be tried and determined by any such lawful courts or by such others as it may be found hereafter necessary to establish for that purpose.

And I further proclaim and make known that the Transvaal will remain a separate Government, with its own laws and legislature, and that it is the wish of Her Most Gracious Majesty that it shall enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people. That arrangements will be made by which the Dutch language will practically be as much the official language as the English; all laws, proclamations, and Government notices will be published in the Dutch language; in the Legislative Assembly members may as they do now use either language; and in the courts of law the same may be done at the option of suitors to a cause. The laws now in force in the State will be retained until altered by competent legislative authority. Equal justice is guaranteed to the persons and property of both white and coloured; but the adoption of this principle does not and should not involve the granting of equal civil rights, such as the exercise of the right of voting by savages, or their becoming members of a legislative body, or their being entitled to other civil privileges which are incompatible with their uncivilized condition. The native tribes living within the jurisdiction and under the protection of the Government must be taught due obedience to the paramount authority, and be made to contribute their fair share towards the support of the State that protects them. All private *bonâ fide* rights to property, guaranteed by the existing laws of the country, and sanctioned by them, will be respected. All officers now serving the Government, and who may be able and willing to serve under the altered circumstances of the country, shall be entitled to retain their positions, and such rights as their positions now give them. All *bonâ fide* concessions and contracts with Governments, companies, or individuals, by

which the State is now bound, will be honourably maintained and respected, and the payment of the debts of the State must be provided for. The appointments or licenses, in virtue of which attorneys, land surveyors, and others are entitled to practise their callings shall be respected in accordance with the terms and conditions of such appointments or licenses.

Given under my hand and seal at Pretoria, in the South African Republic, this twelfth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, &c.

APPENDIX B.

COPY OF PROTEST AND RESOLUTION OF THE TRANSVAAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

April 1877.

On the Order,—

Despatch from Her Britannic Majesty's Special Commissioner, dated the 9th of April, 1877, giving notice that his Excellency has decided to proclaim, without delay, British authority over the South African Republic:

That whereas Her Britannic Majesty's Government, by the Convention of Sand River, 1852, has solemnly pledged the independence of the people to the north of the Vaal River, and that,—

Whereas the Government of the South African Republic is not aware of ever having given any reason for a hostile act on the part of Her Majesty's Government, nor any ground for an act of violence; that,—

Whereas this Government has ever shown its readiness, and is still prepared to do all which in justice and equity may be demanded, and also to remove all causes of dissatisfaction that may exist:

Whereas also this Government has repeatedly expressed its entire willingness to enter into such treaties or agreements with Her Majesty's Government as may be considered necessary for the general protection of the whole population of South Africa, and is prepared punctually to execute such agreements; and whereas, according to public statements of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, there exists no desire on the part of the British Government to force the people of the South African Republic, against their wish, under the authority of the British Government:

Whereas the people by memorials, or otherwise, have by a large majority plainly declared to be averse to it, and whereas this Government is aware that it is not in a condition to maintain the right and independence of the people with the sword against the superior power of Great Britain, and, moreover, has no desire to take any steps by which the white inhabitants of South Africa would be divided in the face of the mutual enemy against each other, or might come in hostile contact with each other, to the great danger of the entire Christian population of South Africa, without having first employed all means to secure, in a peaceful way and by friendly mediation, the right of the people:

Therefore the Government protests most strongly against this act of Her Majesty's Special Commissioner. It is also further resolved to send, without delay, a Commission of Delegates to Europe and America, with full power and instructions to add to their number a third person if required, in order to endeavour, in the first place, to lay before Her Majesty's Government the desire and wishes of the people; and in case this might not have the desired effect, which this Government would deeply regret and cannot as yet believe, then to try and call in the friendly assistance and intercession of other Powers, and particularly of those who have acknowledged the independence of this State. As members of this Commission are appointed the Honourable Attorney-General, Dr. E. F. P. Jorrissen, and S. J. P. Kruger, Vice-President of the South African Republic.

PROTEST.

PRETORIA, *April* 11, 1877.

Whereas I, Thomas François Burgers, President of the South African Republic, have received a letter, dated the 9th instant, from Her Britannic Majesty's Special Commissioner, Sir T. Shepstone, informing me that his Excellency has determined, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, to bring the South African Republic under the jurisdiction of the British Crown by annexation; and whereas I am not strong enough to draw the sword for the successful defence of the independence of this State against a superior Power like that of England; and, moreover, with a view to the welfare of all South Africa, I am altogether disinclined to bring its white inhabitants into a disastrous complication of warfare by any hostile proceeding on my part before having first of all tried every means to secure the rights of the people in a peaceable manner; therefore, in the name and by authority of the Government and the people of the South African Republic, I hereby make my solemn protest against the intended annexation.

APPENDIX C.

PROCLAMATION

By his Excellency Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for certain Purposes in South Africa, and Administrator of the Government of the Transvaal.

Whereas the return from Europe of the Transvaal deputation has been made the occasion by designing persons of creating and fostering agitation and alarm, by imposing upon the credulity and ignorance of the quietly disposed inhabitants of this country, and of endeavouring by the illegal use or assumption of authority, such as the banding together of themselves into committees for the purpose of misleading the public and coercing individuals, false representations, threats of violence, and seditious utterances, to cause disturbance in the land and to bring misfortune upon innocent people:

And whereas it is my duty as it also is my inclination and strong desire, by timely and friendly warning, to prevent such misfortune from falling upon this country and its inhabitants; and whereas the Government has hitherto avoided all interference with the free expression of feeling on matters of public interest, whether expressed by words spoken, or written, or printed, even although in some cases the words have been calculated to disturb the public peace:

And whereas this forbearance appears to have been misunderstood by some, and to have been misrepresented by others, and a mischievous impression to have been created, that the laws of the country are ineffectual to secure quiet and orderly behaviour, and are incapable of awarding adequate punishment to disturbers of the public peace; and whereas it is necessary to set forth and proclaim that the forbearance aforesaid has arisen, not from any doubt of the stringency or applicability of the law, or the power of applying it, but solely from a consideration of the peculiar state of public affairs which has until lately existed, and from a sincere desire to avoid the appearance even of harshness towards the persons concerned; as will more fully appear from the fact that, although it was officially notified in the "Government Gazette" of August 4, 1877, that the proclamations of the 12th April, 1877, had been confirmed by Her Majesty the Queen, and that although this notification informed all Government officers, and the inhabitants generally, that the act of annexation had been formally and finally ratified, and they were legally bound thereby; yet, notwithstanding this, the Government took into its consideration the want of knowledge of official forms and usages that prevailed among the people, and also among some of the public officers, which ignorance had led them to believe that such decision could not be final and irrevocable, until declared so to be by the members of the deputation on their return to this country; and the Government therefore overlooked much that it might have taken serious notice of, and in deference to what it considered a natural but mistaken view on the part of certain of the people of this territory of the real state of the case, the laws of the country were not appealed to, or put in force, although the right of so appealing to and enforcing them existed and still exists:

And whereas these considerations have now ceased, and the deputation hereinbefore referred to has returned from Europe, and the members of it have, by written documents published by them and otherwise, truthfully reported that the act of annexation is final and irrevocable; and whereas the Government would not be fulfilling its duty to the country by any longer exercising such forbearance; and whereas it is necessary to declare and make known that all attempts—whether by public meetings or otherwise—to unsettle and alarm the minds of the people, and all utterances calculated to disturb the public peace and the quiet of the country, and to create disaffection towards the Government, will be dealt with as the law directs, and that those who are found guilty of these and the like offences will suffer and undergo the penalties which the law ordains:

And whereas one of the pretexts under which the evils and mischief aforesaid have been and are yet being done is to obtain signatures to a memorial to Her Majesty's Government; and it has been represented to me by many persons and from different quarters, that intimidation by means of threats of personal violence, confiscation of property, and even of death, has been resorted to by those engaged in coercing others to sign

the said memorial and other documents, although it is well known that whoever signs a document is responsible for the consequences which may result from such signature; and whereas the setting on foot of the said memorial and other documents was prompted by a spirit of sedition, and their professed object was at the time known by those who prompted it to be unattainable; and whereas there is a possibility of many innocent people being made to suffer in consequence of the agitation that it has created and was intended to create; and whereas it is incumbent upon me, as representing the authority of Her Majesty's Government in this country, to protect, as far as it may be in my power so to do, all peaceably disposed and loyal inhabitants from the injury to their persons and property, which believing in, and acting upon, the false and seditious representations aforesaid will inevitably bring upon them; and whereas it is the duty as well as the interest of every one in this country to discourage, and by every means in his power to repress, this dangerous agitation:

Now, therefore, I do call upon, enjoin, and strictly charge all peaceably disposed and orderly persons to aid the officers of the Government in maintaining order, and in bringing to justice the seditious agitators who have endeavoured, and are still endeavouring, to mislead the people of the Transvaal to commit a breach of the public peace, and acts of sedition against Her Majesty's Government, thereby bringing serious misfortune upon the country and its inhabitants; and I do further hereby warn all such mischievous and evil-disposed persons as may be found to be fomenting or instigating any such unlawful agitation, and who by threats, seditious words, whether spoken, written, or printed, or by any other means, are engaged inciting the people of this country to acts of disloyalty, sedition, resistance to, or rebellion against, the Government, that they are hereby made and held liable, and subject, under the law and this my proclamation, to imprisonment, fine, and such other and further punishments as the law may direct. And I do also hereby make known that all meetings convened for seditious or any other unlawful purpose whatever, at which are proposed, discussed, or passed any resolution or resolutions aiming to weaken, resist, or oppose the power and authority of the Government, or to incite the taking up of arms by the people of this country against the said Government, or in any way whatsoever tending to disturb the peace of this country, are contrary to law; and I do warn all persons attending such unlawful and seditious meetings, and more especially the conveners thereof, and all such who, by word of mouth or otherwise, do encourage and incite to unlawful or rebellious acts such persons so met together, that they render themselves liable to the punishments and penalties set forth in the foregoing section of this my proclamation. And I do hereby call upon and command all officers, civil and military, and more especially all landdrosts, justices of the peace, field-cornets, and other officers of the law, to aid and strenuously exert themselves in the execution of the provisions of the law and of this my proclamation, as they shall answer to the contrary at their peril.

Given under my hand and seal, at Government House, Pretoria, this 11th day of March, 1878, &c.

APPENDIX D.

LETTER TO SIR M. HICKS-BEACH, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, FROM THE TRANSVAAL DELEGATES, DATED 10TH JULY, 1878.

Sir,—The deputation who were commissioned by the Government and the people of the South African Republic to lay before the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England their protest against the annexation of the Transvaal Territory, having failed to attain the object of their mission, have reported to the inhabitants the result of their proceedings. Deeply grieved and disappointed at this failure to obtain restitution of their rights, the citizens of the Republic have resolved once more to appeal to the justice of England, and have deputed the undersigned S. J. P. Kruger, and P. J. Joubert, again to submit, on their behalf, that protest and the memorial on this subject. In carrying out the wishes of their constituents, it becomes the duty of this deputation to bring prominently to the notice of Her Majesty's Government certain facts in connection with the instructions issued to Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., in the commission of the Queen, dated at Balmoral the 5th October, 1876, also in regard to the circumstances attending its execution by him, as well as those under which Her Majesty's approval of his proceedings was obtained. A full consideration of these circumstances will, it is the belief of this deputation, justify them before Her Majesty's Government, the South African communities, and the world at large, in the action which they now take, and will, they have full confidence, obtain for them and for their country the redress they now seek.

In the Commission appointing Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and which empowers him, under certain conditions, to proceed to the extreme measure of annexation, it is made a necessary condition, as follows:—"Provided, first, that no such proclamation should be issued by you with respect to any district, territory, or state, unless you shall be satisfied that the inhabitants thereof, or a sufficient number of them, or the Legislature thereof, desire to become our subjects." It is not our wish at this stage to enter into the question as to the evidence adduced or the means adopted by Sir Theophilus Shepstone to satisfy Her Majesty's Government that this condition had in any way been fulfilled. It was in the firm belief that it had been so fulfilled that your predecessor, Lord Carnarvon, declined to enter with the late deputation on any discussion as to the propriety of the annexation itself; and it was at this distance beyond the power of the latter, though disputing the fact, to refute an allegation so confidently put forward. Since that time, however, measures have been taken for placing beyond any doubt what the feelings of the very large majority of the qualified electors are; and these will be shown by the following documents, copies of which we have the honour to enclose:—*a.* The Resolution of the Honourable Volksraad of the Republic, dated 22nd February, 1877, calling upon the Executive to maintain the independence of the country. *b.* The Resolution of the

Executive Council, dated 11th April, 1877, protesting against the threatened annexation, and nominating a deputation to lay the protest before Her Majesty. *c.* The protest of the President of the Republic, dated 11th April, 1877. *d.* A memorial in support of the protest, signed by 6,591, out of a possible 8,000 electors, and dated 7th January, 1878.

As the fulfilment of the above primary condition may be regarded as having been held by Her Majesty's Government as essential to a justification of the act of annexation, and as the above documents prove beyond any doubt that so far from these conditions having been observed, the Legislature, the Executive Government, and nearly seven-eighths of the people were, as they have now shown, opposed to the annexation, it would seem unnecessary to support by further argument a cause which is so clearly established. But Sir Theophilus Shepstone has not been content to rely on this ground, and has thought proper to bring forward a variety of other reasons in support of his action. These we are thus compelled to notice. Apart from the question as to the wishes of the inhabitants, the chief grounds upon which the Commissioner has essayed to justify himself are to be found in the preamble of the Proclamation of Annexation.

It is thus to be seen that the reasons which have urged Her Majesty to approve of the annexation were based:—1. On the belief that a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Transvaal earnestly desire the establishment of Her Majesty's rule. 2. On the disappointment of the hope upon which the guarantee of independence was given by Her Majesty —viz., "That the South African Republic would become a flourishing and self-sustaining State, a source of strength and security to neighbouring European communities, and a point from which Christianity and civilization might rapidly spread towards Central Africa." 3. The general poverty and defencelessness of the country, the encroachments of the natives, the failure of the war with Secocoeni, and the consequent danger to the British colonies.—To these points the deputation will confine their reply.

1. In regard to the first point, we have to state that, as the enclosed correspondence will show, Her Majesty's Commissioner was in possession of the resolution of the Volksraad to maintain the independence of the Republic, as well as of the protest of the Executive, prior to the issue of the Proclamation of Annexation. That the petitions in favour of annexation, which in all represent but a very small proportion of the inhabitants of the country, were for the most part obtained subsequently to the annexation, and that the signatures to them are those of the classes which are described in Sir Theophilus Shepstone's "Address to the Burghers of the Transvaal" as the "1,000 who live in towns and villages," and the 350 fluctuating population of "gold-diggers," and not of the remaining 6,650 farmers, upon whom is laid the task of supporting the State by the produce of their farms, and upon whom also rests the military duty of defending the country, or fighting for its rights.

2. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, in stating that the guarantee of independence was grounded on a certain "hope and belief," refers for an explanation of the same to his address to the people, where we find that he with candour admits that such a condition is to be found only by reading between the lines of the Convention. We, for our part, and on behalf of the people of the Transvaal, however much we may admit the reasonableness of such a hope and belief, can in no way allow either that it was a condition of our independence, or that its disappointment is a

sufficient ground for the withdrawal of the same. But even should this be so, we further say that the argument is one of which the British Government is not in justice entitled to avail themselves. The reasons which actuated the British Government in recognizing the independence of the Transvaal, and in abandoning the Orange River Sovereignty, are, we believe, better to be found by referring to the correspondence on the subject between Her Majesty's Government and the Commissioners employed to give effect to the Imperial policy. But if the hope that the Republic would be a source of strength and security to the neighbouring British colony has not been fulfilled to the extent desired by Her Majesty, then we contend, and are prepared to show, that its failure to be so is due chiefly, if not wholly, to the action of the Government of the adjoining British colonies.

3. With respect to the third point—viz., the defencelessness of the country, the encroachments of the natives, and the failure of the war with Secocoeni—these, as well as the financial troubles, we are also prepared to a certain extent to admit, though we utterly reject the exaggeration with which they have been described, and the inferences of utter disorganization and danger which have been drawn from them. We deny the inference which has been drawn from the failures to dislodge a chief from fastnesses such as Secocoeni occupied at the first attempt. He had been reduced to the greatest straits, and had sent to Pretoria to sue for peace, which, under the pressure of the circumstances in which the Government of the Republic found themselves, owing to the action of the British authorities in supporting the cause of the rebel chief, was ultimately agreed to, upon the payment of a fine, which fine is now being enforced by the Administrator. It is utterly incorrect to say that there was any danger to be feared from Secocoeni, for it is well known that he never came beyond his own strongholds. So also with regard to the Zulus. Sir Theophilus Shepstone has said that, owing to this disclosure (that is, the failure to dislodge Secocoeni) for the first time to the native Powers, from the Zambesi to the Cape, of the great change that had taken place in the relative position of the white and black races, there was an imminent fear of invasion (presumably Zulu), and that every community in South Africa was in peril. We complain that this is an exaggerated and unwarranted conclusion. The danger as described by him has at no time been felt by the Government of the Republic, nor by those who have struggled through similar dangers with the same natives when more united then, under Dingaan. We beg to draw attention to the fact that the opinion here expressed is but that of an individual, and that Sir Theophilus Shepstone seems to have forgotten the serious reverses of the whites in former Cape wars, and especially that of Sir George Cathcart in the Basuto war; and we have also to point out as a matter of fact, that the Zulu army never approached the Transvaal boundary until the Commissioner had crossed it, and thus that if the danger existed, it arose only after that event.

In order further to establish the position we have taken up, and to disprove the rights which have been assumed to be a legitimate sequence to the statements made in the preamble to the Proclamation of Annexation, it is necessary that we should present a view of the political condition of the Transvaal as taken from the stand-point of the Government of the Republic, and place it in opposition to that which has been drawn by Her Majesty's Commissioner. The national status of the Transvaal commenced in 1852; prior to that date the emigrant farmers were scat-

tered in small communities or in isolated farms over the vast extent of country between the Vaal River and the Limpopo. There was no Central Government, nor indeed any cohesion among them, except that dictated by unity of interest, in protecting themselves from the natives, with whom they were from time to time driven to war. It was during a short interval of peace, or rather a suspension of arms, that the independence of the Republic was recognized by England, and that the Convention was signed, guaranteeing in "the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government," with the further promise that "no encroachment should be made by the said Government in the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal River," and at the same time disclaiming "on the part of Her Majesty's Government all alliances whatever, and with whomsoever, of the coloured natives on the north of the Vaal River." The emigrant farmers continued for many years in the same unorganized state in which they had been prior to the Convention, and it was not till 1858 that their divisions, which had almost occasioned a civil war, were brought to an end, and they became united under a Constitution and a Central Government. From that period a marked and steady progress took place. The farmers settled down to more steady occupation of their lands, laws were framed and administered with increasing order, and churches and schools erected in every town. The Republic had, with its very small body of whites and overwhelming native population, kept peace for years, having from that time until the late expedition against Secocoeni had no serious wars except that of Zoutpansberg in 1866. From the year 1858 to 1869 the Republic fulfilled the requirement now insisted on. It was a "flourishing and self-sustaining State, a source of strength and security to neighbouring European communities, and a point from which Christianity and civilization were rapidly spreading towards Central Africa." It formed a barrier between Natal and the Native tribes of the interior, and was thus a source of strength and security to that colony. There was also a rapid advance in civilization among the natives, who, as is well known, have adopted European customs, and accepted Christian teaching in larger numbers and to a greater extent than has been the case in any other portion of South Africa.

Though not forming one of the grounds mentioned in the Proclamation of Annexation, there can be little doubt, judging from the tenour and tone of the despatches which have passed between the Secretary of State and the Colonial Governors, that the charges of oppression of the natives have had some weight in determining the policy of Her Majesty's Government in asserting her rule over the country. These charges, which have been put forward with most unjustifiable exaggeration, have been a serious injustice to the Government and people of the Republic, and would perhaps never have been made or believed had the British Government been duly represented by a consular or diplomatic agent in the country. Without desiring to recriminate, we cannot but feel that, to say the least, the same allowance has not been made for the necessity for any war or perhaps harsh measures in the Transvaal, that has been accorded to Natal in the cases of Isidoi, Matyana, and Langalibalele; and in respect to the Cape, to the very serious wars which have from time to time taken place. We have stated that the Republic continued to flourish and to progress until 1869. In that year the prestige of the emigrant

farmers received a shock from which it could not soon recover, and which was occasioned by the action of the Cape Colonial authorities in espousing the cause of the natives at the Diamond Fields, and opening the sale of firearms and ammunition to them, in violation of the Sand River Convention. Although unwilling to adopt this opinion in any other than a qualified manner, it is well known that Mr. Froude has pronounced the annexation of the Diamond Fields as "perhaps the most discreditable incident in British colonial history." The effect of the act has at least been to bring the Government and citizens of the Republic into contempt in the eyes of the natives, whose power became, at the same time, immensely increased by the possession of guns, of which, as the official returns will show, 236,576 were imported into the Cape and Natal from 1871 to 1875, subject to an import duty of 10s. and £1 a barrel. If the cause of the poverty and weakness of the Republic is to be sought, it is not just to attribute it to "inherent" defects while it can be thus explained. If the natives had not been furnished with firearms, or if the amount of custom duties paid on them had enriched the Transvaal, these evils would probably have been avoided.

In furtherance of the policy which it would seem that Sir Theophilus Shepstone had predetermined to follow, we find that in a despatch to Lord Carnarvon of the 12th of March, 1877, he states that all the native tribes within the State would hail the introduction of British rule as a positive blessing, and that the British Government had paramount influence with the most warlike of the native tribes outside the Transvaal boundary. This assertion, together with that contained in the Proclamation of Annexation, where Sir T. Shepstone states that the Republic had "hitherto been saved from the attacks and inroads of natives by the restraining influence of the British Government, exercised from Natal by Her Majesty's representative in that colony," had doubtless the effect of determining the policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to annexation; and as it is this alleged actual danger to the Transvaal, and the fear of general conflagration, which alone could be held to justify the intervention of the British Government, it is important that we should inquire into the grounds which have existed to justify these statements.

It should be borne in mind that, as a rule, all information possessed by the Home or Colonial Governments, or by the British public, is derived from Sir T. Shepstone himself, and that all opinions on the same are but the reflection of his. The allusions by him to the estimation in which "British rule" is held by the natives, and to the "restraining influence exercised by Her Majesty's representative in Natal," it is not too much to assume, point only to the power and influence exercised by himself; and that it has been taken in this sense by Her Majesty's Government is clear from the constant reference to his personal influence in the published despatches. It is our desire to show that whatever the real grounds for this belief may be, no evidence in support of it has been given, except what is only a personal opinion, and one which, under such circumstances, should be received with caution.

We now ask whether, looked upon in the light which recent events have thrown on the subject, these opinions can be justified; whether there has been actual danger of Zulu invasion, and whether the measures adopted were necessary and sufficient to avert it? Such fear has, as before remarked, never been felt by the Government or people of the Republic. Up to the time of annexation, isolated border farms were

occupied by our farmers without the least apprehension of danger; and but a few weeks before, a small patrol of men had followed the chief Umbelini into the heart of the Zulu country. It is only since the annexation that our farmers' homesteads have been burnt, and that they, with their wives and children, have been compelled to take to the plains. It is, we unhesitatingly declare, owing to the course pursued by Sir T. Shepstone that the present crisis has been produced. Cetywayo, believing himself to be encouraged by the Natal Government, or by Sir T. Shepstone, in the demands he was making on the Transvaal, was no doubt daily becoming more insolent and exacting; but his threats to the Transvaal, which reached the Transvaal only through Natal, produced little or no effect until, by the advance of the British troops, he was led to make a similar movement towards the frontier. Cetywayo has, with much ingenuity, endeavoured to play off one white Government against the other, and, as it seemed to him at first, with some success. That he should now be exasperated can excite no surprise, for he finds himself not alone foiled in his game, and disappointed of the plunder which he expected a joint invasion of the Transvaal would afford, but he also now finds the cause of his opponent espoused by those who, he had been led to hope, were his friends and supporters. Evidence in support of what has been advanced by Sir T. Shepstone is, as has been said, entirely wanting; while, on the other hand, the most striking contradiction is given to it by the present attitude of the Zulus towards his Government, and by the hostilities in Secocoeni's country, and with the Griquas at the south-western border.

The above are some of the chief arguments which we have to advance in order to carry out the instructions with which we have been charged; and though we are prepared to meet any further points which may be urged in defence or justification of the annexation, we do not feel it necessary here to go into further detail. We are directed to support with the voice of the people the protest against the annexation, and at the same time humbly and earnestly to solicit Her Majesty's gracious consideration of their cause. We protest against the annexation of the South African Republic on the following grounds:—

1. That it is a violation of the Convention entered into at Sand River in January, 1852, between Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners and the representatives of the emigrant farmers.

2. That the reports as to the nature of the disturbances in the Transvaal, and the peril to the peace and safety of the adjoining colonies thereby threatened, and upon which the instructions to Sir Theophilus Shepstone were founded, were gross exaggerations of fact, and misrepresented the actual position of the country.

3. That the condition laid down in Her Majesty's Commission to Sir Theophilus Shepstone requiring the assent of the inhabitants thereof, or a sufficient number of them, or the Legislature thereof, has not been complied with.

4. That the British Government cannot, with justice, avail themselves of the plea that the defencelessness and disorganization of the Republic, and the encroachments of the natives, and consequent danger to the British colonies, made the intervention of their authority a necessary act, inasmuch as those evils, if they existed, were the direct result and consequence of the acts of their own representatives as above referred to.

In concluding a letter upon a subject of such vital importance to our fellow-countrymen—to those who have struggled through toil and

through danger for years in the one hope of preserving their hard-earned freedom—we cannot but feel the deep responsibility that rests upon us, and that, should we fail in conveying to Her Majesty's Government the conviction of the righteousness and justice of our cause, it will be due only to our defects in laying it before them. We believe, however, that we have fully met every argument that has been advanced to justify the act for which we now seek redress; and we rest with the fullest confidence on the sense of justice and integrity of the British nation. We know that, as a subject-people, and who have been deprived of their independence by such means, there will be before us many years of bitter heart-burnings, of ill-feeling, of desertion of homes, and of wild and objectless wanderings; while, on the other hand, with justice and with freedom, there is every reason to hope that the Transvaal may join hand in hand with the neighbouring States and colonies to work together for mutual prosperity and happiness, and for the extension of civilization and Christianity into the far interior.

It is now our earnest prayer that Her Majesty's Government may direct the removal from the Transvaal of the Administrator of the Government, with the British troops and the official staff, and may restore to the country the independence which was guaranteed by the Convention of 1852, and which has been formally acknowledged by the Governments of Germany, France, America, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal. We have, &c.—S. J. P. Kruger, P. J. Joubert, *Delegates.* W. Ed. Bok, *Secy.*

APPENDIX E.

PROCLAMATION BY THE BOER TRIUMVIRATE.

The Triumvirate, consisting of Messrs. J. P. Kruger (Vice-President), M. W. Pretorius, and P. J. Joubert, appointed by the Volksraad of the Transvaal, in its sitting of the 13th December, 1880, at Paardekraal, issued a Proclamation reciting at length the well-known Sand River Convention, as well as the Protests of the 11th and 12th of April, 1877, against the Annexation of the Transvaal (for which see previous Appendices), and formulated the reasons for the rising in the following paragraphs:—

"2. By this (Sand River) Convention, the perfect independence of the Republic was acknowledged, without any restriction, and classed among the independent States.

"3. In the course of time it was acknowledged, besides England, by the Great Powers, France, Prussia, America, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland.

"4. Never has any provision of this Convention been violated, whereby even the pretence of right has been given to England to withdraw from its obligations.

"5. Although from different sides the Republic has been charged with favouring slavery, the untruth of such accusations has been glaringly brought to light, by the very annexation; the representatives of H.M. in our country have had no opportunity to repair any wrong done by Boers to the natives, for the simple reason that no wrong was

committed. In the whole country no slave has been liberated, because there were none.

"6. If this Convention has been violated, it is not done by the people, but perhaps Sir G. Wolseley has brought the truth to light when he declared: That British shopkeepers provided the natives with guns and ammunition; contravening Art. 5 of the Convention.

"7. The most amicable relations have since that time existed between H.M.'s Government and the Republic. When, in Natal, the difficulty arose with Langalibalele, the Republic has proved this by deeds, as was also gratefully acknowledged by the Legislative Assembly of Natal.

"8. In consequence of wrong information—and notwithstanding the then Governor of Natal, in his despatches to the Secretary for the Colonies, expressly stated that the Republic had re-established her predominance among the natives, notwithstanding that it had for a period suffered by the Secocoeni rebellion—Sir T. Shepstone abused a special power granted to him under entirely different circumstances.

"9. This official has thought fit to annex, on the 12th April, 1877, the S. A. Republic, in the name of H. M., notwithstanding that his power had only been granted to him to do so with consent of the Volksraad, and naturally for satisfactory reasons.

"10. Government and people of the Republic have then not made use of their right to take up arms, being convinced that Her Majesty's Government, better informed, would disapprove of the action of her official, and as the threats of that official made them fear that armed resistance should cause civil war among the colonists in South Africa, and a war of extermination between the white and black race.

"11. The Government of the South African Republic has allowed this act of violence to be committed under protest, and the people have kept quiet in obedience to the lawful authority.

"12. Three-and-a-half years have since that time passed, and the people have behaved quietly, always contending that they were a free people, and no subjects of Her Majesty (in the confidence that Her Majesty's Government would subject the actions of her officials to serious consideration); and meantime, out of regard for its laws, co-operating with the Government *pro. tem.*, to honour these laws, faithfully attending, as for instance as jurymen, to further the application of the laws.

"13. This leniency of the people has been badly rewarded. Two deputations, sent in '77 and '78 to England, have been well received, but not been allowed to lay before H.M.'s Government the subject of annexation.

"14. When, after the commencement of the unjustifiable Zulu war, which war might easily have been avoided, the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, visited our country, this high official tried to persuade the people to desist from its resistance, but in vain. A camp of more than 4,000 burghers sent its representatives, and His Excellency was necessitated to acknowledge openly that the objection of the burghers to the annexation was more general than was represented to him by the officials, and that the leaders of the movement were the best and most principal people of the country.

"15. Sir Bartle Frere took from the hands of the people a memorial to H. M. the Queen, wherein it was stated unreservedly that the people would not be subject to Her Majesty, and he accompanied this memorial by a despatch, wherein he declared that the representations of the people

were worthy of the most serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He read this despatch for approbation to the Commission of the people, and the thousands of burghers, this time believing that their good right had at last found a defender, went peacefully back to its occupation.

"16. Meantime, said high official, in a private letter to Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, wrote that he regretted not to have sufficient artillery to chase this camp home. This letter was written on the same day that he had the interview with the people.

"17. The Government of Her Majesty, misled by her High Commissioner, has never given an answer to this memorial of the people. And when Sir Garnet Wolseley reached our boundary, he expressed as the general feeling of England's Government, that knew not of the state of affairs, that 'as long as the sun shines the Transvaal will remain British territory.'

"18. The answer of the people upon this declaration is contained in the resolutions of the general meeting of the people, which took place from 10th to 17th Dec., 1879, when it was decided that, there being no hope of recovering the independence by peaceful means, the Volksraad should be convened to proclaim what has now been proclaimed and finally decided: That the people declares that, with the help of God, it demands a strong form of the S. A. Republic, respect for the laws, the prosperity and progress of the country, and that it promises man for man to co-operate for that purpose, and to defend the Government until death. So truly help us God Almighty.

"19. The Committee gave hereof official notice to Sir Garnet Wolseley, with request to communicate same to English Government. This request was answered by an accusation of high treason against the President, Mr. M. W. Pretorius, and the Secretary, Mr. E. Bok. It is generally known that these accusations have been dropped, and have alone served to create fear.

"20. The meeting announced in these resolutions has been delayed, as we trusted that by a deputation to the Cape Colony the threatening danger of a Conference, the precursor of a Confederation of all Colonies in South Africa, where our interests would for ever have been neglected, might be averted. This deputation has done good, and established in South Africa the conviction, that no Conference is possible without the injury done to us being first repaired.

"21. Meantime the peace observed by the people has been continually and purposely misrepresented. The people had decreed to pay its taxes only under protest or by force, while the Government for the time being has thought well to write to England that the people were satisfied, and paid their taxes.

"22. Upon these statements, the English Parliament in September last allowed the matter of the Annexation to pass unchallenged, because Her Majesty's Government declared that the Administrator reported the opposition of the people abating, and that they paid their taxes.

"23. Deceived by such reports from Pretoria, His Excellency Sir Pomeroy Colley, H.M's. Governor for Natal, no later than the 19th October, 1880, declared at the opening of the Legislative Council in that Colony, that the movement in the Transvaal was apparently settling, that everywhere order and law reigned, and that the taxes were paid by natives as well as white inhabitants.

"24. Indescribable was the anger of the people when they saw that,

purposely and wilfully, the truth was obscured by the authorities in Pretoria, and that the unwilling and extorted payment of taxes was used as a weapon against the people.

"25. Immediately the people gathered, and from all sides declarations were signed by the burghers that they should either pay no longer taxes or alone under protest, exercising thereby their rights as an independent people that may be silent for a time, but reserves its rights.

"26. This declaration was printed in the newspapers, and the Government in Pretoria, afraid, doubtless, that now the untruth of its information should come to light, crowned its work of tyranny by prosecuting criminally for the publication of seditious writing the Editor of the paper who published those declarations. The liberty of the Press was a thorn in the side of the Government *pro. tem.*

"27. The unwillingness of the people to pay taxes led to small collisions. Yet everything was still done by the leaders of the people to prevent a public disturbance of the peace. With the full approval of the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Kruger, it was decided to try whether the people's meeting, which was near at hand, could not effect the peaceful solution of the difficulties.

"28. Then the Government at Pretoria thought it well, in contradiction to this agreement between Mr. Hudson, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Paul Kruger, and two days before the meeting, to publish a Proclamation, which leaves us no choice between being treated as rebels or exercising our eternal rights as a free people.

"29. We have decided, and the people has shown to us our path. We declare before God, who knows the heart, and before the world: Any one speaking of us as rebels is a slanderer! The people of the South African Republic have never been subjects of Her Majesty, and never will be.

"30. We therefore return to the protest of the Government referred to above, and declare that on our part the last means have been tried to ensure the rights of the people by peaceful means and amicable arrangements.

"31. We therefore make it known to everybody that on the 13th of December, 1880, the Government has been re-established. Mr. S. J. P. Kruger has been appointed Vice-President, and shall form with Mr. M. W. Pretorius and P. Joubert the Triumvirate that shall execute the Government of the country. The Volksraad has recommenced its sitting.

"32. All inhabitants of this country who will keep themselves quiet and obedient to the laws shall stand under the protection of the laws. The people declares to be forgiving to all burghers of the South African Republic who by circumstances have been brought to desert for the time being the part of the people, but that it cannot promise to extend this forgiveness to those burghers of the South African Republic who assume the position of open enemies to the people, and continue to deceive the English Government by their untruthful representations.

"33. All officials who serve the Government now, and who are able and willing to serve under the altered circumstances of the country, shall have a claim to retain their places and such advantages as their positions now afford to them.

"34. To the English Government the right is reserved to maintain in our country a Consul or Diplomatic Agent to represent the interests of British subjects.

"35 The lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenditure during the interregnum shall be confirmed.

"33. The differences over boundaries of natives shall be submitted to arbitration.

"37. For the Native policy the Government is prepared to accept general principles to be decided upon after deliberation with the Colonies and States of South Africa.

"38. The Republic is prepared to confederate with the Colonies and States of South Africa.

"And, finally, we declare and make known to all and everybody that from this day the country is declared to be in a state of siege and under the provisions of martial law.—Paardekraal, Pretoria, Dec. 1880."

APPENDIX F.

OFFICIAL DESPATCH OF THE LATE COLONEL ANSTRUTHER ON THE ACTION AT BRONKHORST SPRUIT.

"Transvaal, Camp Modder Spruit, near Mr. Prinsloo's Farm, December 26, 1880.—Sir,—I have the honour to report that, on the 20th inst., the troops under my command, while on the march from Middleburg to Pretoria, had an engagement with a large body of Boers under Commandant-General P. Joubert, near Prinsloo's Farm, on the Modder Spruit. I had no expectation of meeting the enemy at this spot, as the Field-Cornet had stated in conversation to some of the officers that there was a friendly meeting going on close by, and that emissaries had gone through the country endeavouring to rouse the people to stop us, but that the appeal met with no response. The only cavalry with us were four mounted infantry, so that scouting could not be efficiently performed; but one man, while on the march, was always sent to the rise in front, and another one to the highest hill commanding the country. Lieutenant MacSwiney was employed as intelligence officer, to give information as to the enemy's whereabouts. I understand that the enemy followed us nearly all the way from Middleburg, keeping well out of sight, which, as they were all mounted, did not interfere with their power of catching us up at any moment. The country round the scene of action is well but not thickly wooded, and well suited for cavalry, and fringed round the edge of the plateau by ravines, intermixed by well-wooded farmyards, which concealed a large number of troops. About 12.45 P.M. two or three scouts were seen at about 600 yards' distance. I therefore rode back to form up the leading and stop the remaining waggons; but within five minutes of this, the enemy appeared in skirmishing order on the rise of a slight-wooded hill on the left. In addition, there were large numbers in rear and on our right flank, but what number I am unable to state, nor have I been able since to obtain any accurate information; but from the report of the officer commanding the rear-guard, and from the statements of the Boers themselves after the action, I do not think that from 1,200 to 1,500 would be overstating their numbers. The Boers sent forward a flag of truce half-way between the lines, and I walked to meet it. The bearer handed me an English letter, signed by P. Joubert, and

countersigned by other Boers, requesting me to wait at the spot where I then was until a reply had been received to an *ultimatum* that had been sent to Sir Owen Lanyon. I told the interpreter I could not do so, as I had orders to proceed with all possible despatch to Pretoria, and that I had no wish to meet him hostilely. He said that he would take my message to the Commandant-General, and I asked him to let me know the result, to which he nodded assent.

Almost immediately, however, the enemy's line advanced. I ran back as fast as I could, ordering the leading company to skirmish, but before they could open out to more than loose files a murderous fire was poured upon them, which was as hotly returned. The fire lasted for less than a quarter of an hour, when, observing that all the officers and about two out of three of the non-commissioned officers and men were either dead or wounded, I ordered the cease-fire to be sounded, and hoisted a flag of truce to save the lives of the remainder. In the meantime, fighting was going on all along the line of waggons up to the rear-guard, about 200 Boers firing a volley within 430 yards, then dashing up to the waggons, shooting the oxen, particularly the leading ones, and killing or wounding a great many of the men in charge. Immediately after the flag of truce was hoisted, Commandant Joubert came forward and shook hands with me, saying he was sorry to see me wounded. He then ordered the remainder of the men to surrender their arms, accoutrements, &c., together with all the waggons, to proceed to their camp, some distance off, promising, however, that all the private baggage should be returned; he also allowed 18 men to be left to attend to the wounded, and the remainder, about 40 non-commissioned officers and men, and Captain and Paymaster Elliott, Army Pay Department (not wounded), to proceed to their camp *en route* to Heidelberg, where he was proceeding the same afternoon with his army. Our casualties are as follows:—

Killed.—94th Foot—Captain Nairn, Lieutenant MacSwiney, mortally wounded, died in a few hours; Lieutenant and Adjutant Harrison; 59 non-commissioned officers and men (including six died since action). Army Service Corps — Two non-commissioned officers: Conductor Bancroft.

Wounded.—94th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Anstruther, dangerously; Lieutenant Hume, severely; 82 non-commissioned officers and men (the greater part of whom severely); the wife of Sergeant-Major Fox, severely. Army Service Corps—Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Carter, dangerously; Conductor Egerton, slightly; two non-commissioned officers. Army Medical Department.—Surgeon Ward, slightly; Army Hospital Corps—two privates.

All horses were killed or taken.

With regard to the losses of the enemy, it is difficult to give an accurate estimate. The Provost-Sergeant tells me he counted 27 bodies in one farm and 17 in another, waiting for interment. But the Boers are very reticent on the subject, and I fancy a great many more were killed.

I regret exceedingly the disastrous termination of the engagement, but I trust that it will be considered I did right in surrendering when I did; outnumbered as we were, we could have no chance of success in continuing it. I also regret that the whole of the orderly-room, paymaster's and quartermaster's books, &c., have been taken; but I am informed by Commandant Prinsloo, in command here, that they, together with the private property, will be returned. All the officers present at the engagement behaved well, particularly Lieutenant and Adjutant

Harrison, who encouraged the men to the utmost of his power until shot through the head alongside of me; also Lieutenant Hume, who commanded his company very efficiently. Orderly-room Clerk Maistre and Sergeant Master-Tailor Pears, in the absence of officers, carried the colours, and showed good service in hiding them in a waggon. Sergeant-Major Fox and Quartermaster-Sergeant Earle (both wounded) rendered, in the absence of officers, able assistance; and Sergeants Newton and Hook indefatigably exerted themselves in bringing in the wounded and burying the dead all through the night and the following day. Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Carter, Conductor Egerton, and Transport-Sergeant Bennett, Army Service Corps, were simply indefatigable. They were all wounded, Mr. Carter very severely, three places, and Sergeant Bennett dangerously, and I am much afraid that his wounds may entail the loss of his thigh. Conductor Egerton, though wounded, volunteered to walk into Pretoria to obtain medical assistance, and also to carry in the colours, which he had judiciously torn from the poles and wrapped round him under his coat. Mess-Sergeant Bradley volunteered to accompany him, and, having obtained a safe-conduct, they started, and I believe delivered the news about 4 A.M. next morning, having run the distance of 42 miles within 11 hours. It was exceedingly fortunate that Providence spared our only medical officer and his assistant-surgeon. Ward's work can hardly be described. It was endless for 48 hours; until assistance arrived, he had not one moment to himself.

In conclusion, I have only to bring to notice the conduct of the men, which was admirable. They were steady as rocks, and consoled themselves for the surrender with the thought that the tables would be turned before long. The Boers are very sorry at having wounded a woman, and the minute after the arms were laid down they became most obliging and civil. They offered to get us everything they could for our comfort, and it was not a hollow promise. Every day they come in numbers, bringing milk, butter, eggs, bread, apricots, &c., and if a man goes to any of their farms they at once, without payment, give him anything he wants.—I have, &c., PHILIP R. ANSTRUTHER, Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 94th Regt."

Lieut.-Colonel Anstruther subsequently died of his wounds.

APPENDIX G.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF LANG'S NEK.

OFFICIAL DESPATCH.

"Army Head-quarters, Mount Prospect, Natal, February 1, 1881.—Sir,—I have already, from time to time, forwarded to you all information that has reached me regarding the Boer outbreak, which, commencing with acts of resistance to the civil power, culminated in the proclamation of the South African Republic on the 16th of December, 1880, and the attack on the detachment of the 94th Regiment on the 20th of that month. I have also reported to you the measures taken to organize and

concentrate a force with which to attempt the relief of the besieged garrisons of the Transvaal, and the re-establishment of Her Majesty's authority in that province. On the 10th of January I left Maritzburg for Newcastle to personally supervise the formation and equipment of the columns collecting for that purpose under the command of Colonel Deane; and on the 19th and 20th the last detachments, consisting of drafts just landed from England, two field-guns, manned by gunners from the garrison battery at Cape Town, and a naval detachment, kindly placed at my disposal by Commodore Richards, C.B., A.D.C., reached Newcastle.

The force then assembled at Newcastle consisted of two guns N-5 Royal Artillery, properly horsed and equipped; two field-guns, manned by a detachment 10-7 Royal Artillery, Garrison Battery, and drawn partly by horses, partly by oxen; two 7-pounder guns, drawn by mules, and manned by men of the 60th Rifles, under direction of Artillery non-commissioned officers; one mounted squadron, formed of details of King's Dragoon Guards, Army Service Corps, and men of the 58th and 60th Regiments; head-quarters and five companies 58th Regiment; head-quarters and five companies 60th Rifles; a draft of 80 men of the 2nd Battalion 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers; a Naval Brigade of 120 men, with two Gatlings and three rocket tubes; a detachment of Natal Mounted Police. In all 1,146 infantry, 191 cavalry, six guns, and two Gatlings. The column thus formed was small in numbers and somewhat heterogeneous in composition. But no further reinforcements could reach me for, at least, three weeks; and, having regard to the effect of such delay on Pretoria, where the loyal population has had to take refuge in the camp, and is undergoing all the miseries of a close siege, and on Potchefstrom, where the garrison is scantily supplied, and can scarcely hold out much longer, I decided to move forward at once with the force at my disposal.

Regarding the Boer forces opposed to me it was difficult to get reliable information. Captain Lambart, 2nd Battalion 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, who had been for some time a prisoner at the Boer head-quarters at Heidelberg, estimated their numbers at 16,000, and similar estimates were current in Natal and the Free State. From other, and what appeared to me more accurate information, however, I was inclined to estimate their forces at between 5,000 and 7,000, of whom about 2,000 were directly opposed to me on the border under their Commandant-General J. P. Joubert. These numbers were necessarily liable to considerable fluctuation, as day by day fresh men arrived or others went to their homes. The Boers were without artillery, but all mounted and armed, amply supplied with ammunition, and generally excellent shots.

From Newcastle three roads lead into the Transvaal—one to the right going to Utrecht, with a branch to Wakkerstrom; one in the centre to Wakkerstrom direct, and thence to Standerton or Leydenberg; and one on the left direct to Standerton, joining in the Wakkerstrom-Standerton road at a place called Meek's. Utrecht lies to the east of and below the Drakensberg range and plateau; but the roads to Wakkerstrom and Standerton both cross this range at elevations of from 5,000ft. to 6,000ft. The pass where the direct Standerton road crosses the Drakensberg range is called the Lang's Nek, and lies within Natal territory, about twenty-five miles from Newcastle. During my stay at Newcastle I learnt that the Boers had established their main camp at a point a little south of the Wakkerstrom-Standerton road, and about six miles from the former

place. From this point, centrally situated between the two roads crossing the Drakensberg, they could move at once to occupy either pass according to the route that I might choose for my advance. Their patrols watched the fords on the Buffalo River, and a detached force usually occupied Lang's Nek, whence parties were occasionally pushed to the vicinity of Newcastle. As my objects were the dispersion of the Boer forces in the field, and the earliest possible relief of the garrisons of Standerton, Pretoria, and Potchefstrom, I selected the direct Standerton road for my advance, though in character and in the defensive position it affords, this road compares unfavourably with that by Wakkerstrom.

Two days were occupied in completing the equipment of the force, and, a heavy day's rain on the 22nd having made the roads almost impassable, I was compelled to defer my advance till the 24th, on which day the column made a short march, halting a few miles outside Newcastle. On the 25th the column, which was accompanied by a heavy convoy of supplies, crossed the deep and difficult valley of the Imbazane River, the convoy defiling under cover of positions held by infantry and artillery. On the 26th the valley of the Ingogo was similarly crossed, and the troops encamped on a commanding ridge between three and four miles from Lang's Nek pass. No opposition was offered to the march, though Boer patrols were occasionally visible, but Lang's Nek was seen to be occupied in force. Heavy rain and mist prevented any movement on the 27th, but on the morning of the 28th I moved out with the Royal Artillery—4 officers, 6 guns; mounted troops, 6 officers, 113 men; Natal Mounted Police—3 officers, 63 men; 58th Regiment—15 officers, 479 men; 60th Regiment—13 officers, 321 men; Naval Brigade—4 officers, 84 men; 2nd Battalion 21st Regiment—1 officer, 6 men; Army Medical Department and Army Hospital Corps—4 officers, 26 men; column staff—2 officers; leaving the laager, which had been strengthened with redoubts constructed round it, garrisoned by the detachment of the 2-21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, a company of the 3-60th Rifles, a detachment of the Naval Brigade, and details of the various corps, in all 260 men, under Captain Whitton, 2-21st Royal Scots Fusiliers.

The pass over Lang's Nek lies about the centre of a rough semicircle of hills six miles in length, culminating towards the west (our left) in a lofty, square-topped mountain, named the Amajuba, with precipitous sides and deep, wooded ravines, and ended on the east by the Buffalo River running through a deep and rugged gorge. The road skirts the foot of the Amajuba mountain until it rises the Lang's Nek ridge, re-entering the bend of this semicircle. It is then commanded along the greater part of its length by the mountain spurs on its left, and, where it crosses the Nek, by the hills on both sides. The ground within the semicircle is an undulating grassy plateau, broken by a few deep ravines. From Lang's Nek the ground rises on the west, in a series of ridges and shoulders, furrowed with deep wooded ravines, to the Amajuba mountain. To the east the ground rises steeply about 300 yards to a table hill having a length of 1,000 yards, and a command over the plains below of about 600 feet, and then falls in a number of spurs and ridges to the deep valley of the Buffalo River. This table hill is the key of the position, and against its outer (eastern) end I directed my attack. Leaving the main road about half a mile to our left, and crossing a deep valley immediately under our camp, the column moved towards the enemy's position along an open ridge, out of shot of the hills, and formed upon a rise directly opposite, and from 2,300 yards to 2,500 yards distant from

the table hill above mentioned, with guns in the centre, the 60th Rifles, Naval Brigade, and Natal Mounted Police on the left; the 58th Regiment and mounted squadron on the right. From near the eastern end of the table hill a spur runs forward in a southerly direction, falling steeply almost to the level of the ground occupied by us, and then rising again with easy and open slopes to an isolated conical hill 1,500 yards distant from the table hill, and overlooking our right at the same distance. This hill was occupied by a picquet of the enemy, probably 100 to 200 strong. Had the force at my disposal been sufficient I would have commenced by taking this hill with my infantry, but to have done so would have entailed a wide turning movement, and would have too much extended my small force. I determined, therefore, to attack the spur, directly covering the attack with artillery fire, and protecting the right or exposed flank of the infantry with the mounted corps. The face of the spur was very steep, but hidden from view or fire, except from the slopes of the isolated hill already mentioned.

At half-past nine o'clock I commenced the action by shelling different parts of the enemy's position, and pushing forward a company of the 60th Rifles and the Naval Brigade with their rockets into some enclosed grounds on the road about 1,200 yards from the Nek. From this point the Naval Brigade sent rockets with good effect on the Nek and among the Boer reserves and horses collected behind. A sharp fire was soon opened on this force from the wooded kloof beyond the road; but, as the men were well posted under cover of a stone wall, our casualties here were few. When this force had become engaged, the 58th Regiment, under Major Hingeston, moved forward to attack the spur; covered on their right by the mounted squadron, under Major Brownlow, King's Dragoon Guards, and by the fire of the Artillery, which was now concentrated on this part of the enemy's position. Colonel Deane, commanding the Natal Field Force, personally led this attack. The mounted squadron, moving on the right of the infantry, gradually drew up the slope of the isolated hill on our right, and, coming under the fire of the Boers on the hill, faced the hill and charged. This charge was splendidly led by Major Brownlow, who, with Troop-Sergeant-Major Lunny, King's Dragoon Guards, was first on the ridge. Major Brownlow's horse was shot under him, as was that of his subaltern, Lieutenant Lermitte, 21st (Royal Scots Fusiliers), and Sergeant-Major Lunny was instantly killed; but Major Brownlow shot the Boer leader with his revolver, and continued to lead his men, who now crowned the ridge. Could he have been promptly supported the hill was won, for the Boers had already begun to retire. But the fire was still heavy, and the hill was steep. The support troop was checked; the leading troop, fatigued and broken by the charges, with its leaders all down, could not push on; and the whole party gave way down hill. Meanwhile the 58th Regiment had begun climbing the steep ascent on the spur, when the Boers on the isolated hill, having repulsed the cavalry attack, moved down the ridge, and opened fire on the right rear of the infantry, now exposed, the enemy on the table hill at the same time collecting to resist them at the brow of the hill. The 58th now pushed on eagerly, forming a few men to the right flank to return the enemy's fire. But the climb was a very trying one, and when the men got near the top they were too fatigued and breathless for a charge, while the fire from a ridge behind continued to tell heavily, and the Boers shot down the men as they struggled up. The officers led nobly, and Colonel Deane, with splendid gallantry, tried

to carry the hill by a rush. His horse was shot, but he extricated himself, and dashing forward on foot fell riddled with bullets ten yards in front of the foremost man. Major Poole, who joined him in the charge, with Lieutenant Inman, 60th Rifles, and Lieutenant Elwes, Grenadier Guards, my aide-de-camp, were killed close by him, and Major Hingeston, commanding 58th Regiment, and all mounted officers of the Regiment, were shot down or dismounted. The men continued to hold their ground unflinchingly for some time, but the ground was too unfavourable and the fire too severe, and ultimately the Regiment was compelled to retire, covered for some time by the fire of two companies posted under the direction of Major Essex, 75th Regiment, column staff officer, behind a slight ledge. Part of the 60th pushed forward to cover the retirement, and the 58th, which had fallen back leisurely, without haste or confusion, re-formed at the foot of the hill, and marched back into position in as good order, and with as erect and soldierly a bearing, as when it marched out. The main attack having failed, it became necessary to withdraw the advanced parties on the left. This was done without loss."

General Colley mentions that the casualties were very severe, and adds:—"I have especially to deplore the death of Colonel Deane, commanding the Natal Field Force, in whom this force has suffered an irreparable loss. I have also deeply to deplore the loss of Major Poole, R.A., D.A.A.G.; Lieut. Elwes, Grenadier Guards, my A.D.C.; and Lieut. Inman, 60th Rifles, orderly officer to Colonel Deane, who all fell with Colonel Deane in his determined effort to carry the hill. Major Poole was an able and most promising staff officer, and had been of the greatest service since he joined my staff; whilst I have suffered a heavy personal loss in the death of my A.D.C., Lieut. Elwes. Of the conduct of the 58th Regiment during this trying day I cannot speak in too high terms. Major Hingeston, commanding the regiment, was mortally wounded; Captain Lovegrove, second in command, severely wounded; Lieuts. Dolphin and Baillie killed; Lieut. O'Donel wounded; the sergeant-major and most of the colour-sergeants killed or wounded; but to the last the men were perfectly in hand, cheerful, and ready to fight on. They only fell back when further fighting was hopeless and the order given to retire, and then moved down the hill leisurely, not a man running to save himself from the heavy fire which followed them down. The perfect order and soldierly bearing of the remains of the regiment as they marched back into position, under the command of Lieut. Jopp, deservedly called forth the admiration of all who witnessed it. I have already reported the gallant charge made by the mounted squadron, under Major Brownlow, and I would now explain my very high sense of the services rendered by that officer. With only a small number of dismounted Dragoons, Army Service Corps, and volunteers from infantry regiments at his command, and great difficulty in obtaining horses and equipment, he has, with indefatigable industry and zeal, succeeded in creating the most serviceable mounted force, with which he has admirably performed the scouting and other cavalry duties of the column. In the charge his conduct was conspicuous, and his escape wonderful. Associated with him, alike in organizing and training this force, and in the charge, his sergeant-major—Troop-Sergeant-Major Lunny, King's Dragoon Guards—died beside him as they crested the hill together, in sight of the whole force; and no man ever died more gallantly. Of the conduct of the force generally I can speak in terms of the highest praise. The 60th Rifles were not closely

engaged in the action of the 28th, but skirmished steadily and well, and covered the withdrawal of the 58th. The artillery was well served, though from the nature of the ground, and the cover it afforded the Boers, the fire was not very effective. Much credit is due to Captain Greer and Lieutenant Parsons for the efficiency of my artillery forces, seeing that there were originally only two guns properly manned and equipped in this country, the other four having been equipped and horsed locally, and manned partly by artillerymen from a garrison brigade, and partly by volunteers from the 60th Rifles. The Naval Brigade threw their rockets well, and covered the left flank of the force in action. The Natal Mounted Police, a remarkably fine body of men, though not directly engaged on the 28th, rendered most valuable service in scouting and protecting the march of the column from Newcastle."

Among other officers honourably mentioned are:—Lieutenant-Colonel Ashburnham, commanding the 3rd Battalion 60th Rifles; Commander Romilly, commanding Naval Brigade; Major Dartnell, commanding Natal Mounted Police; Captain Greer and Lieutenant Parsons, R.A.; the Rev. G. M. St. M. Ritchie, Chaplain to the Forces; Surgeon-Major Babington, who was in charge of the field hospital; Surgeons E. King and J. M'Gann, A.M.D., and Surgeon E. E. Mahon, R.N., Her Majesty's ship *Flora;* Assistant-Commissary-General Elmes, the senior Commissariat officer; Lieutenant Brotherton, R.E.; Major Essex, Staff Officer of the column, who was with Colonel Deane in the attack on the hill, where his horse was killed under him, and distinguished himself by his courage and coolness, remaining to the last, and directing the companies that covered the retirement of the 58th Regiment; Captain McGregor, R.E., Assistant Military Secretary; and Commodore Richards, C.B., Aide-de-Camp, who was present at the engagement.

The despatch then continues:—"The behaviour of the men on the line of march, in camp, and before the enemy, has been all that could be desired, and deserves special mention. The amount of crime has been almost *nil*, and on the day that the column marched against the enemy there were only two men sick in hospital. Among many gallant deeds performed during the action I would wish especially to mention the following:—Lieut. Hill, 58th Regiment, as the regiment was retiring, passed Lieut. Baillie badly wounded, and tried to bring him out on his horse. While so trying, Lieut. Baillie was hit again and killed. Lieut. Hill then brought another man out of action on his horse, and immediately returned to the hill to aid the wounded under fire, remaining there till taken prisoner, but afterwards released by the Boers. Sergeant-Major Murray, 58th Regiment, though severely wounded, refused to go to the rear, but remained with a few men to the last to cover the retirement of the regiment, and was again hit. Private J. Doogen, King's Dragoon Guards, servant to Major Brownlow, was charging with the troop when Major Brownlow's horse was shot. Seeing Major Brownlow dismounted and among the Boers, he rode up, and though himself severely wounded, dismounted and wished Major Brownlow to take his horse, receiving another wound while trying to get him to take it. Private Godfrey and Band-boy Martin, 58th Regiment, remained with Major Hingeston and Captain Lovegrove respectively when these officers were wounded, and, notwithstanding the heavy fire, refused to leave them till they had been carried down the hill and taken to the ambulance.

Of the numbers of the Boers, and their losses, it is difficult to form

any reliable estimate. Judging, however, by the numbers who actually showed at the points attacked, and by information obtained from various sources, I should put their number at about 2,000. Considering the excellent cover under which they mostly fought, I cannot suppose that their losses were heavy. I must do my adversaries the justice to say that they fought with great courage and determination. A good deal of the fighting was at short ranges of 20 to 100 yards, and the Boers showed no fear of our troops, but rather advanced to meet them. I have also to acknowledge the courtesy shown by some of their leaders in giving facilities for the care and removal of the wounded. I shall hold this camp until I receive reinforcements sufficient to enable me to renew the attack. The Indian reinforcements are already in the country, and will reach me in about a fortnight's time, and Brigadier-General Sir Evelyn Wood and the reinforcements from home may be expected in a fortnight later.

I am unable to send a sketch of the ground with this report, as Major Poole, D.A.A.G., who was making the sketch, was killed, and his papers lost.—I have, &c., C. Pomeroy Colley, Major-General, Commanding the Forces, Natal and Transvaal.

CASUALTIES.

	Officers.		Men.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Staff . . .	3	0	0	0
1st King's Dragoon Guards .	0	0	2	3
58th Regiment . . .	3	2	70	98
3-60th Rifles	1	0	0	5
Army Service Corps . .	0	0	2	1
Army Hospital Corps . .	0	0	0	1
Naval Brigade . . .	0	0	2	1
Totals	7	2	76	109

One of the 1st Dragoon Guards, and one of the 58th Regiment, taken prisoners of war.

APPENDIX H.

THE FIGHT AT THE INGOGO, OR SCHUIN'S HOOGHTE.

Official despatch from Major-General Sir G. Pomeroy Colley to the Secretary of State for War. (Received March 25, 1881.)

Army Head-quarters, Mount Prospect, February 12, 1881.—Sir,—For some days after the engagement at Lang's Nek, reported in my despatch of the 3rd inst., the Boers remained quiet, occupied, apparently, in further concentrating their forces and strengthening their position, and our communications with Newcastle were uninterrupted. I sent the Natal Mounted Police back to Newcastle at once, to guard against any raids on that part of Natal; and some days later sent in the bulk of our transport, with the double object of reducing the number of animals in

camp and bringing out fresh supplies when opportunity should offer. On the 3rd a large convoy of wounded was sent in to Newcastle, and, up to the 6th, waggons with bread and other supplies reached the camp unmolested. The post ran regularly, and the telegraph was uninterrupted. On the 7th the post, proceeding as usual with a small escort, was fired upon by a party of Boers, at a point a little beyond the double drift on the Ingogo, and obliged to return. The escort reported having seen about 50 or 100 Boers in the Ingogo and the Imbazane valleys. The same evening I received information from other sources that the Boers had detached a small force to harass our communications and intercept waggons, &c., passing between this and Newcastle.

On the morning of the 8th I moved out with a force of five companies 60th Rifles, under Colonel Ashburnham, two field and two mountain guns, under Captain Greer, R.A., and a detachment of 38 mounted troops, under Major Brownlow, King's Dragoon Guards, to patrol the road and meet and escort some waggons expected from Newcastle. My mounted force was necessarily very weak, owing to the withdrawal of the Natal Mounted Police and to the casualties suffered by the Mounted Squadron on the 28th ult. The Ingogo river crosses the Newcastle road about five miles south of this camp, taking its rise in a deep recess or bend in the Drakensberg, and running from west to east, through a valley about five miles wide, to the Buffalo River, which it joins about four miles below the road. Two main branches unite just below where the road crosses them, whence this crossing is known as "The Double Drift." The two fords, which are about 100 yards apart, are rocky, with a rapid current, and sometimes dangerous in the sudden floods to which these mountain streams are liable. The ridges to the north of the river, which are spurs of the remarkable square-topped mountain immediately overlooking this camp, and named the Umquelo, fall steeply in a series of steps to the Ingogo; the road winds down a long stony hill, two miles in length, between two of these spurs, commanded for its whole length by the ridges on each side. On the south side of the river a plain or very gentle rise extends for more than a mile to the foot of the ridge or plateau which separates the Ingogo and Imbazane valleys. The ridge is nearly level on its summit, strewn with rocks and boulders, and irregularly cut by rocky valleys, now expanding into a broad plateau, and again narrowing to a mere neck. Its slopes, as a rule, are stony, but not very steep. The road rises to its summit by an easy ascent along the face of a projecting spur.

Leaving two mountain guns and a company of the 60th on a commanding position on the crest of the ridge to the north of the Ingogo, I moved down the road with the rest of the force, our front covered by the mounted troops, and the ridges on each side occupied by infantry. No enemy, however, was seen until our scouts, cresting the hills beyond the Ingogo, reported patrols in sight. The column, having crossed the Ingogo and drawn in its flankers, halted and formed on the plain south of the Double Drift, and then resumed its march. As we approached the foot of the ridge already described, reports were brought in that the Boers were in considerable force in our front, showing a strong skirmishing line, with four supports of forty or fifty men each, and shortly afterwards our vedettes were driven in. I immediately pushed forward with the advanced guard to occupy the point of the ridge which the road ascends. As we did so the Boers showed in large numbers about half a mile distant, and at once galloped forward boldly to dispute the ridge, and to take ad-

vantage of the cover which the intersecting valleys afforded. The guns were brought into action, but the Boers had already got under cover, and now pushed up the valleys wherever cover could be got, directing a heavy and accurate fire on our guns and skirmishers, at the same time throwing their right rapidly forward to envelop us. The companies of the 60th, as they came up the hill, were pushed forward to meet these attacks, and in a few minutes the engagement became heavy and general. The ground occupied by us was a small plateau, roughly triangular in shape, forming part of the main ridge, with which it is connected by necks slightly lower than the plateau we held. The enemy's attack embraced the south and western faces of the triangle and the eastern angle. Part of the plateau was fringed with rocks affording good cover, but towards the eastern angle there was no cover except such as the grassy brow of the hill afforded; and one company of the 60th Rifles pushed forward in the angle to cover the guns, and, meeting the Boers at close range, suffered terribly from the close and accurate fire of the Boers, who were able to seize some rocks on the slope, giving good cover. With a moderate mounted force at my disposal it would not have been difficult to have rolled up the Boer right, which was dangerously extended and exposed. But the small detachment under Major Brownlow, already reduced by casualties among the horses, was too weak for such an attempt. The level top of the plateau afforded no cover for our horses, and these in consequence suffered cruelly. The artillery, also exposed to a concentrated fire, lost so heavily that I found it necessary to withdraw the guns to a less exposed position, from which, however, they still fired shells occasionally when opportunity offered. When it became evident that the attack was serious and a sustained one, and that reinforcements were coming to the Boers, I sent orders to camp for three companies of the 58th Regiment to move out and occupy the ridges over the Ingogo. Later in the afternoon, when it was clear that the enemy had no force in our left rear which could cut the reinforcements off from camp, I directed them to endeavour to push across the Ingogo towards us, holding, however, the spur immediately overhanging and commanding the Double Drift.

The action commenced a little after twelve, and for some time the fire was very heavy. Towards three, however, it began to slacken, and the enemy apparently abandoned the idea of trying to win the position, though a steady and very accurate fire was still maintained, any one at all exposing himself being almost certainly struck. Our men fired with great steadiness and coolness, husbanding their ammunition. Towards four o'clock the enemy could be seen removing his wounded from the field and collecting them at a point about a mile distant, and a little later began to draw off from our left front. About this time the Boer reinforcements, which had been dropping in during the afternoon, began to stream in in large numbers, and the attack on our right was for a time more vigorously renewed; but towards sundown the fire slackened on this side also, and the enemy withdrew and concentrated their forces in the valleys on our right. A movement made by a considerable body of Boers towards the Ingogo Drift, apparently with the object of intercepting our return to camp, was stopped by the appearance of the companies of the 58th on the ridge above the drift, and before dusk the fire had ceased altogether.

As I had not contemplated camping out, and had brought no supplies, and as the enemy was evidently preparing to renew the engagement with

overwhelming numbers the following morning, I decided to withdraw to camp during the night. I was chiefly anxious about the guns, as the casualties among the horses had been so numerous that it seemed impossible to make up the necessary teams; but by withdrawing the team from the ammunition waggon and collecting all available horses we were able to horse, though insufficiently, the two guns. As soon as it was dusk the fighting line was drawn in quietly, the guns run back, and the wounded collected. The severity of the fire had made it impossible in many cases to remove the wounded from the advanced positions, and the ambulances sent out had been unable to reach the plateau, the Boers having threatened to fire on them if they advanced while the engagement was going on. One waggon, indeed, which accompanied the column had been left at the foot of the hill, all the mules being killed, and the waggon riddled with bullets. All waterproof sheets, blankets, greatcoats, &c., were collected, and the wounded sheltered as well as they could be until the ambulances could be sent up. The night closed in with dark clouds, heavy, pelting showers, and occasional lightning, the moon from time to time breaking through the clouds and lighting up the country in drifting gleams. When all arrangements were completed the force moved off in silence in perfect order, arranged in a hollow square, the guns, &c., in the centre, the infantry in skirmishing order on the four sides. On approaching the Double Drift the column halted, and a patrol was sent out to ascertain that the drift was clear; and the column then filed across. A heavy thunderstorm had now come on, the darkness was intense, and the river, swollen by the rains, was deep and rapid. Some of the first men trying to cross were swept down, but saved by a projecting sand bank. The rest were got over in detachments, holding hands. When all were across the force resumed its march to camp, which it reached about 4 A.M.; the guns were drawn up the hill by the 60th Rifles, the horses being unable to pull them up the steep and slippery road. The 58th Companies remained in possession of the ridges commanding the drift until withdrawn the following day. The officer commanding the 58th had crossed the Ingogo as directed, but, as darkness came on before he could advance to our position, he rightly withdrew again, and concentrated his force on the hill immediately overlooking and commanding the Double Drift.

I enclose a return of the casualties, which, I regret to say, were severe. I have suffered a heavy personal loss (and the service generally has also suffered) in the death of Captain Macgregor, R.E., my Assistant Military Secretary, a most promising officer, who would certainly have risen to distinction if spared, of soldierly bearing, of distinguished ability, and possessing in an eminent degree all the most valuable qualifications of a Staff officer. He was killed early in the engagement, while pointing out the ground to Lieutenant Garrett of the 60th, as the latter brought the company into action. I have also suffered, in common with the Civil Service and Colony of Natal, by the death of Mr. Stuart, Resident Magistrate of the Ixopo Division, and one of the ablest and most promising Civil Servants of Natal, who was attached to my Staff as Dutch interpreter. In Captain Greer the Artillery has lost a gallant and valuable officer. Having volunteered and obtained leave from the Staff of Sir George Strahan, late Administrator of the Cape Colony, he organized and equipped a division of field artillery from guns in store at Durban, horses purchased at Newcastle, and a detachment of a garrison battery sent up from Capetown, and rendered good service in command of

the artillery of the column. He was killed early in the engagement while directing the fire of his guns. The 60th Rifles have lost two promising young officers in Lieutenant Garrett and Second Lieutenant O'Connell. The latter, having been temporarily withdrawn from the fighting line with a few men to form a reserve, asked leave to rejoin his company, and was almost immediately killed. But the battalion has suffered a still heavier loss in the death of its adjutant, Lieutenant Wilkinson. Having distinguished himself through the engagement by his coolness and gallantry, volunteering for every difficult or dangerous task, he was drowned crossing the Ingogo after returning to the battle-field with assistance for the wounded. Of singularly winning disposition and manners, distinguished in all manly games, an excellent adjutant, and most promising officer, few men of his standing could boast so many and such warm friends, or be so widely missed and deeply mourned.

The conduct of all ranks throughout this trying day was admirable. After the death of Captain Greer, Lieutenant Parsons continued to direct the guns and assist in working them under a heavy fire until ordered to withdraw, having lost more than half of his detachment; and then, with the assistance of a few men of the 60th Rifles, again served the guns until severely wounded himself. The conduct of the men of the Royal Artillery well sustained the reputation of that corps. The comparatively young soldiers of the 60th Rifles behaved with the steadiness and coolness of veterans. At all times perfectly in hand, they held or changed their ground as directed, without hurry or confusion, though under heavy fire, themselves fired steadily, husbanding their ammunition, and at the end of the day, with sadly reduced numbers, formed and moved off the ground with the most perfect steadiness and order; and finally, after eighteen hours of continuous fatigue, readily and cheerfully attached themselves to the guns, and dragged them up the long hill from the Ingogo, when the horses were unable to do so. My thanks are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Ashburnham, 60th Rifles, for the manner in which he commanded his battalion and the valuable assistance which he rendered me through the engagement; also to Major Brownlow, King's Dragoon Guards, for the manner in which he covered the advance of the force with the limited means at his disposal, and for his ever cool and ready help during the action. The Rev. George M. Ritchie, Chaplain to the Forces, again distinguished himself, and honoured his office by his humane zeal and indefatigable attention to the wounded, with whom he remained until late the following night, and until he had assisted at the burial of the dead. Major Essex, Column Staff Officer, and Lieutenant B. Hamilton, 15th Regiment, my aide-de-camp, rendered me active and valuable assistance throughout the day. I desire especially to mention the conduct of Sergeant-Major T. Toole, R.A., who well seconded Captain Greer and Lieutenant Parsons in working the guns till the end of the action, and on whom the charge of the guns and the arrangements for their withdrawal devolved when the latter officer was wounded; also of Sergeant-Major Wilkins, 60th Rifles, who throughout the day was to be seen wherever the fire was hottest, setting an example to the men by his cool and steady shooting and cheerful gallantry. Surgeon M'Gann well maintained the distinguished reputation of the Medical Department for self-sacrificing exposure in attendance on the wounded. Until the arrival of the ambulances, with Surgeons Ring and Landon, he was the only medical officer with the force, and laboured indefatigably with the wounded. The wounded were all removed to the base hospital at New-

castle in the course of the following day, and the dead buried on the field by a burial party sent out under a flag of truce. The dead officers were brought in and buried here. I sent to offer the Boer Commandant medical assistance for their wounded, but the offer, though most gratefully acknowledged, was not accepted. Later, however, they sent to ask permission for waggons, with their wounded, to pass through our lines. They were courteous in allowing all facilities for the removal of the wounded, but seemed surprised and disappointed to find that we were not still in the same position in the morning. I regret to say that we had to leave one artillery ammunition waggon in the enemy's hands. Owing to the heavy casualties among the horses it was impossible to do more than horse the two guns when we marched from the plateau. I sent out fresh artillery horses during the night, and they succeeded in bringing the waggon down to the Double Drift; but by that time the river had risen so high that it was impossible to get the waggon across; and finally it had to be emptied of its contents and abandoned, the artillery officer in charge, with the horses, making his way to Newcastle.

I estimated the force of the Boers at first engaged against us at about 300, afterwards increased by reinforcements to 800 or 1,000. Probably during the night their numbers were raised a good deal higher, as a continuous stream of reinforcements passed to them from Lang's Nek by a road leading round the back of Umquelo Mountain. P. Joubert, the Commandant-General, and their Field Commandant-General Schmidt, were both present at the engagement. It is difficult to estimate their losses, which the Boers set down as small; but this is hardly consistent with the character of the engagement, or with the numbers that were seen removed from the field. It is reported to me that P. Joubert and a considerable part of the Boer force have returned to the Nek; that several hundred occupy a position between this and Newcastle, about eight miles from the latter place; and that another party are working round Newcastle with a view to intercept the approaching reinforcements on the Ingagani River. Reinforcements, consisting of the 15th Hussars, 2nd Battalion 60th Rifles, 92nd Highlanders, and two guns Naval Brigade, are now between Ladysmith and the Biggarsberg; and I have ordered a concentration on the latter point, whence the united force will move forward in one strong column.—I have, &c., G. Pomeroy Colley, Major-General.

OFFICIAL LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The following is corrected list of casualties on February 8th :—Staff—Captain MacGregor, R.E., Assistant Military Secretary, Mr. M. Stuart, Resident Magistrate, my Interpreter, killed. K.D. Guards—1 man wounded. Royal Artillery—Captain Greer, 3 men, killed; Lieutenant Parsons, 10 men, wounded. 58th Regt.—2 men killed. 60th Rifles—Lieutenants Garrett and O'Connell, 56 men, killed; Second Lieutenants Pixley, Haworth, Thistlewaite, 52 men, wounded; Lieutenant Wilkinson, 8 men, missing. Army Service Corps—1 man wounded. Wounded all removed to Newcastle. Dead buried on the field. Lieutenant Wilkinson believed to have been drowned crossing flooded stream taking aid to wounded after engagement. Haworth dangerously wounded (died subsequently); Parsons and Pixley, severely; Thistlewaite, slightly.

APPENDIX I.

THE AMAJUBA FIGHT.

The following is the official return of the casualties in the action of 27th of February, 1881 :—

NATAL FIELD FORCE.

Corps.	Regtl. No.	Rank and Name.	Nature of Casualty.
Staff	H.E.	Major-General Sir G. Pomeroy Colley	Killed
Attached 58th Regt.	...	Captain Hon. Maude, C.	,,
Army Medical Dept.	...	Surgeon-Major Cornish, H.	,,
,,	...	Surgeon Laudon, A.	,,
Naval Brigade H.M.S. *Boadicea*	...	Lieutenant Trower, C. J.	,,
58th Regiment	...	Captain Morris, A. W.	Wounded
,,	...	Second Lieutenant Hill, A. R.	,,
,,	...	,, Lucy, F. H.	,,
92nd Regiment	...	Major Hay, F. C.	,,
,,	...	Captain Singleton, L. C.	,,
,,	...	Lieutenant Hamilton, J. S. M.	,,
94th Regiment	...	Captain Anton, A. H. G.	,,
Naval Brigade H.M.S. *Boadicea*		Commander Romilly, F.	Wounded, died 2-3-81
Staff	A.M.S.	Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, H.	Prisoner
58th Regiment	...	Captain Hornby, C. L.	,,
92nd Regiment	...	Captain McGregor, A. D.	,,
,,	...	Lieutenant Wright, H.	,,
,,	...	Second Lieut. Macdonald, H. O.	,,
,,	...	,, Thornton, G.	,,
94th Regiment	...	,, Miller, C. T.	Prisoner, Wounded
Army Service Corps	...	Conductor Field, F.	,,

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

15th Hussars—2 killed, 1 wounded, 1 prisoner. 2-21st Regt.—2 killed. 58th Regt.—31 killed, 42 wounded, 13 prisoners, 2 missing. 3-60th Rifles —11 prisoners. 92nd Regt.—34 killed, 63 wounded, 21 prisoners. 94th Regt.—1 killed, 1 wounded, 1 prisoner. Army Service Corps—1 prisoner. Army Hospital Corps—2 wounded. Naval Brigade—16 killed, 15 wounded, 3 prisoners. Of these men 6 died subsequently of their wounds.

RECAPITULATION.

	Officers.			N.-Com. Officers and Men.			
	Kld.	W.	Pr.	Kld.	W.	Pr.	Mis.
Staff	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
15th Hussars	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
2-21st Regiment	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
58th „	1	3	1	31	42	13	2
3-60th Rifles	0	0	0	0	1	11	0
92nd Highlanders	0	3	4	34	63	21	0
94th Regiment	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
Army Service Corps	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Army Medical Department	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Army Hospital Corps	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Naval Brigade	1	1	0	16	15	3	0
Total	4	8	7	86	125	51	2

APPENDIX K.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS RELATING TO THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

"Head-quarters, 12th February, 1881.—To His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley, &c., &c., Head-quarters, Lang's Nek.—EXCELLENCY,—Since I have arrived here at head-quarters I have inquired from the Hon. P. J. Joubert, Commandant-General over the Burghers of the South African Republic, concerning the different positions in our possession; I have found that we, against our will, are forced into a bloody conflict, and that our positions taken up are of this nature that we cannot but maintain the once determined upon path of self-defence, and follow it so far as our God gives us strength thereto. Excellency, we know that all our intentions, letters, or whatever else have always missed their true object in that they are misrepresented and wrongly understood by the Government and the people of England. It is on this account that we fear to send your Excellency this communication, but, Excellency, I should esteem myself responsible to my God if I did not once more make known our intention, knowing it is in your Excellency's power to place us in a condition to withdraw from the position taken up by us. The people have repeatedly declared their willingness, on the annulling of the Act of Annexation, to work together with Her Majesty's Government in all things which can serve the whole of South Africa. The people were unfortunately not in a position to carry into execution their good intentions, because they were unlawfully attacked, and forced to act in self-defence. We desire to seek no conflict with the Imperial Government, but cannot do otherwise than give the last drop of blood for our lawful right, for which also each Englishman would give his blood. We know that the honourable English people, when once the truth and the right

can be impressed upon them, will stand on our side. We are so strong in this conviction that we should not fear the inquiry of a Royal Commission, which we know would restore us our lawful right, and therefore we are prepared, whenever your Excellency will order that Her Majesty's troops shall immediately withdraw out of our country, to permit them with full honours to go out of the country, and to relinquish the position we have now taken up. Whilst, however, the Annexation is persisted in, and the shedding of blood by your Excellency continues, then will we submit ourselves to our fate under our God, and to the last man strive against the injustice and violence done to us, and throw the responsibility of all the misery which will visit this land entirely on your shoulders.—I have, &c., S. P. J. KRUGER, Vice-President."

"Army Head-quarters, 21st February, 1881.—To the Honourable P. Kruger.—SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst. In reply, I must inform you that as soon as the Boers, now in arms against Her Majesty's authority, discontinue their armed resistance, Her Majesty's Government is prepared to appoint a Commission, with extensive powers, which may develop the scheme which is alluded to in Lord Kimberley's telegram of the 8th inst., and which was communicated to you by his Honour President Brand. I must add that if this proposal is accepted within 48 hours from and after the receipt of this letter, I have empowered a cessation of hostilities on our side.—I have, &c., G. POMEROY COLLEY, Major-General, High Commissioner."

"Government House, 28th February, 1881.—To His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley, Major-General, Governor, &c.,—EXCELLENCY,—Your letter of the 21st February, 1881, reached me to-day, the 28th February, when I arrived back from an inspection. In conjunction with the members of the Government here, I have the satisfaction in my own and their name to inform you that we are very thankful for the declaration of your Excellency in the name of the Government of Her Majesty, that under certain conditions they are prepared to stop hostilities; that it appears to us that now for the first time, since the unhappy day of the Annexation, an opportunity occurs of coming to a friendly settlement; that our heart bleeds for the necessity of shedding further blood—as well the blood of our burghers as that of your brave soldiers; that in our opinion a meeting of committeemen from both sides would, perhaps, speedily lead to a satisfactory result; we, therefore, have the honour to propose that committeemen shall be chosen by you and us, with suitable and sufficient authority, to establish and to ratify the preliminaries of an honourable peace.—I have, &c., S. P. J. KRUGER, Vice-President."

TELEGRAMS.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir G. P. Colley.—5th February. I think it right to intimate to you, as you have instructions to assume the functions of Governor when you are able to enter the Transvaal, that, whenever you may succeed in re-establishing the Queen's authority there, all questions affecting the future administration and settlement of the country, as well as questions as to dealing with those

who have taken part against the Government, should be reserved by you for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

Governor Sir G. P. Colley to Secretary of State for the Colonies.—5th February. Have received two long telegrams from Brand earnestly urging that I should communicate your reply to him to Boers, state nature of scheme, and guarantee their not being treated as rebels if they submit. I have replied that I can give no such assurance, and can add nothing to your words, but suggested he may do good by making your reply known through Transvaal.

Governor Sir G. P. Colley to Secretary of State for Colonies.—7th February. I have received your telegram of the 5th instant, which shall be attended to. I have purposed, with a view to the speedy pacification of the country, to publish, on entering the Transvaal, through the Landdrost of each district which the investing army occupies, a promise of amnesty to all people of the district (with certain names excepted) who shall return to their homes and sign a declaration of loyalty to the Queen, issuing, however, no proclamation until the Queen's authority has been re-established throughout the country, and I shall have received your instructions. I further propose to appoint a day for the inhabitants of the occupied districts to attend before their magistrates and sign such declaration, and then to let them choose two of their number to represent to me their views and their alleged grievances, for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I should take care to see the spokesman of each district separately, and to avoid giving the representatives any status as a body, but I think that I might thus both sound the general feeling and test the practicability and probable character of an elected body should any such be hereafter considered desirable. Do you approve this, or must all questions of amnesty be deferred until the Queen's authority is re-established throughout the country?

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir G. P. Colley.—9th February. In reply to your telegram of the 7th instant, you should confine yourself to promising protection to the inhabitants of the districts occupied as long as they behave peaceably, reserving all further questions for instructions from home.

Secretary of State for War to the General Officer Commanding, Natal and Transvaal.—16th February, 1881. With reference to Lord Kimberley's telegram as respects the interval before reply from Boers is received, we do not bind your discretion; but we are anxious for your making arrangements to avoid effusion of blood.

Deputy Governor of Natal to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Pietermaritzburg, 19th February. Colley telegraphs to you:—"Latter part of your telegram of 16th to Wood not understood; there can be no hostilities if no resistance is made, but am I to leave Lang's Nek in Natal territory in Boer occupation, and our garrisons isolated and short of provisions, or occupy former and relieve latter?"

Secretary of State for Colonies to Deputy Governor of Natal.—19th February. Telegraph following to Colley: "It will be essential that garrisons should be free to provision themselves and peaceful intercourse

with them allowed, but we do not mean that you should march to the relief of garrisons or occupy Lang's Nek if arrangement proceeds. Fix reasonable time within which answer must be sent by Boers."

Governor Sir G. P. Colley to Secretary of State for Colonies.—20th February, 1881. May I promise pardon to men now serving under compulsion with Boers if they withdraw before troops enter Transvaal? Many are inquiring through friends.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir G. P. Colley.—21st February. You may promise full exemption from penalty to all persons mentioned in your telegram who withdraw before troops enter Transvaal.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir Evelyn Wood.—1st March, 1881. Inform me, if you know, when Sir G. Colley made communication to Kruger in pursuance of my telegram of the 16th February, what time he fixed within which answer must be given, and whether any, and if so what, communications have since passed between him and Boer leaders.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir H. Robinson.—2nd March, 1881. Desirable that you should at once appoint Wood to be your Deputy Commissioner for South-Eastern Africa as included in Colley's Commission, with full powers to perform any acts within and relating to that district. Necessary in present circumstances to make provision for prompt action without reference to Capetown.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—3rd March. My telegram of March 1st. If you find that Sir G. Colley made communication to Kruger, but no answer has been received, inquire of Boer leaders whether an answer will be sent to you.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—4th March. Your telegram of March 2nd. State date on which Colley's communication sent to Boers, to whom addressed, and to what place. Was person to whom sent known to be competent to reply without reference to others? Reply as quickly as possible. I understand from your telegram that no answer has been received from Kruger, and therefore inquiry directed in my telegram of yesterday should still be made.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Fort Amiel, 4th March. Yours received as I left Mount Prospect; Colley wrote, 21st February, to Joubert, offering to suspend hostilities if answer were received within 48 hours, not 24, as I telegraphed; he moved night of 26th. I expect answer when Kruger can be communicated with, but please read my telegram herewith sent yesterday to Brand. Message to Brand begins:—"3rd March. I gratefully acknowledge your Honour's continuous efforts in the cause of peace, and I cordially desire such may ensue without further bloodshed. I know and esteem many of those now in arms against my Sovereign, and I therefore regret doubly they will not, by desisting from armed opposition, open the door to arrangements which I conscientiously believe might be rendered acceptable to every reasonable Africander. Any reinforcements I require are placed

at my disposal, but I would greatly prefer they should not be sent here. I would gladly abstain from making any movement in advance of my present position for a few days, say till 10th March, if the Boers on their part promised the same, and you believe peace would at once ensue, but, your Honour will understand, as they not only blockade our garrison in Transvaal, but occupy Natal territory, I cannot go further in my desire to stop the war. Any communication you may desire to make to the Boers should be transmitted through our posts. I hear Mr. Kruger has gone to Rustenberg. In justice to our common friend Sir G. Colley, I state he did not receive any answer to his message or letter, and I read Mr. Bok's letter, which was not received until Sir George was dead."

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—5th March. Your telegram of 4th. We approve your message to President Brand. We await answer from Boer leaders to communication made by Sir G. Colley to Kruger before giving you any fresh instructions.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 5th March, noon. I anticipate hearing from Joubert soon. Fear until Boers are defeated leaders, if altogether excluded from amnesty, will continue hostilities if they can; but, on the other hand, the very unfavourable weather and their admitted certainty of eventual suppression may cause dispersion. Sir G. Colley was very averse to pardon leaders, and your telegram of 10th implies such cannot be granted. Instruct me fully on this point, for much will turn on it; and, reflecting on similar struggles in history, I do not attach much importance to punishing leaders, as did Sir G. Colley, though I would not recommend allowing them to remain in Transvaal, nor would I accept them as representatives of people. In discussing settlement of country, my constant endeavour shall be to carry out the spirit of your orders; but, considering the disasters we have sustained, I think the happiest result will be, that after accelerating successful action, which I hope to fight in about 14 days, the Boers should disperse without any guarantee, and then many now undoubtedly coerced will readily settle down. In any negotiations Joubert will probably make dispersion contingent on amnesty. I may be cut off from communication with you, and if you wish to avoid further fighting, I suggest, while giving me no instructions for the future settlement, you should empower me, if absolutely necessary, to promise life and property, but not residence to leaders. This I would not do, if dispersion could be effected without it. Consider whether you be disposed to give me names of proposed Commissioners, for information of Boers, as such knowledge might have favourable effect.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—6th March, 1881. If by my telegram of 10th, you mean mine to Colley of 9th February, I never intended to imply that pardon could not be granted to leaders, but only to reserve that and other similar questions for decision of Her Majesty's Government. I will send further answer to yours of 5th as soon as possible.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 7th March, 2 P.M. Kruger's answer, dated Heidelberg, 28th, to Colley's of 21st, now received through Joubert. Gist as follows:—In conjunc-

tion with members of Government here, have satisfaction to assure you that we are very grateful for the declaration, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that under certain conditions they are inclined to cease hostilities. It appears to us that, for the first time since unlucky annexation, there is chance of coming to peaceful settlement. Our hearts bleed over shedding more blood of burghers and soldiers. In our opinion, a meeting of representatives from both sides will probably lead speedily to satisfactory result, therefore suggest representatives from both sides should be present, with full powers to determine preliminaries of honourable peace, and ratify same.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—8th March. With reference to your telegram of the 6th Her Majesty's Government would be ready in any settlement to grant complete amnesty to all, including leaders, excepting only persons who have committed, or are directly responsible for, acts contrary to rules of civilized warfare; make this known in such way as you consider most expedient. We should make no exception as to persons with whom we will negotiate, requiring only that they shall be duly authorized representatives of Boers, with power to act in their behalf. We understand Kruger's answer as opening way to further proceedings on basis of preceding communications, and we now propose to appoint Commissioners, whose names I will state at earliest moment, who will examine whole matter, and will be ready for friendly communications with any persons appointed by Boers.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—10th March. Following telegrams passed between Hoffmeyer, M.L.A., Cape Town, and Joubert:—"8th March. Hoffmeyer, Cape Town, to Joubert. Friends here heard with great pleasure armistice, as promising of peace. Believe British Government anxious to meet wishes of Boers, but difficulty is how to grant concession either before you have desisted from opposition or British arms victorious. We pray you help Government, by adopting conciliatory tone, and offering desist from armed opposition, on tacit understanding that no further use be made by British of such desisting than to send limited number of troops across border and provisioning garrisons. Also hope, if Commissioners proposed, if either Wood or Robinson, with Brand and Villiers, you will not hesitate accept, if such Commission have full power."—"9th March. Joubert, Lang's Nek, to Hoffmeyer. We are ready to co-operate in every way for an honourable peace for England, with the retention of our independence. Confidence in the British Government can be better restored by doing away than by using arms."

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 11th March. Following is translation of message sent forward:—"Hoffmeyer to Joubert. After a thorough investigation by my friends, independence can be secured in no other way than as follows: The assembly of a Commission as proposed in my former telegram; should the Commission be appointed with full power, your conditional independence must be begged for through the people as a reclamation; but in any case, before the Commission can be appointed, either the British arms must have conquered, or the Boers must have given a tangible proof of submission in the eyes of the world: consider earnestly, I pray you, what is said in my previous telegram; also that in case no agreement is come to, the

armistice will give rise to great dissatisfaction among the Boers, and give occasion for fresh accusation of untrustworthiness against the Boers. God give you peace!"

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—13th March, 8 P.M. Inform Boer leaders that, if Boers will undertake to desist from armed opposition and disperse to their homes, we are willing to name the following as Commissioners: Sir H. Robinson, Chief Justice de Villiers, and yourself. President Brand would be asked to be present as representing friendly State. Commission would be authorized to consider following points: Complete self-government under British suzerainty, with British Resident at Pretoria, and provisions for protection of native interests and as to frontier affairs. Control of relations with foreign Powers to be reserved. It would be well, also, to consider scheme for severance of territory eastward to divide Zulus and Swazies, retaining great native districts on the east and north-east. Amnesty to be granted as stated in my telegram to you of 8th. You may consent to prolongation of armistice till 18th, if desired by Boer leaders, in order to give time for answer.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—12th March, 8 P.M. In order to enable me to answer questions in Parliament, inform me whether suggestions for armistice proceeded from you or Joubert, or from whom.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 12th March, 10.30 P.M. A letter from Kruger to Brand, of 3rd March, has been handed to me by Joubert for perusal. Gist as follows:—We will do our best to make it easy for the honour of England to be indulgent; glad if negotiations could be left in your hands. It grieves us that you refer to Lord Kimberley's telegram of the 8th February; this telegram cannot be basis of peace. Reasonable guarantees for their treatment we cannot admit, as it looks like admitting that we are in wrong. We hold to Colley's telegram of 16th February to you, and his letter of 21st February. Telegram of 16th February is based on Kruger's letter of 12th February and the letter of Triumvirate of 29th January, wherein is offer of restoration of Republic, with British protectorate; short of this condition we cannot treat.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Mount Prospect, 16th March, 6 P.M. Have conferred since 10 A.M. Result:—Boer leaders state they accept, to a great extent, and generally, the proposition contained in your telegrams of 8th and 12th, but they make withdrawal from Nek and dispersion depend upon the following concession: that the Boers be represented on the Commission in the proportion of two to three. They further express the hope that in order they may have a fair chance of maintaining order in the Transvaal, instructions may be given to withdraw garrisons from Transvaal without waiting for the assembly of the Commission. It is agreed that the word dispersion will not prevent the Boers retaining sufficient forces to support their Government internally. Joubert says plainly that he expects trouble from English party. I am most anxious for an early reply.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Mount Prospect,

16th March, 9.5 P.M. Précis of interview with Boer leaders. Read conditions, extracted from your telegrams of 8th and 12th as explained by mine of 15th. Kruger approved generally of them as basis of peace, but asked, had I power to recognize him as representing Boer Government, and did I represent English? Replied, Yes. Objected to proposed Commission as one-sided. Why not make peace at once without Commission? Replied, had not power. Then there must be Boers on Commission. After much talk he proposed two Boers in five. Kruger then said that we must withdraw troops from Transvaal garrisons if he consented to disperse. Replied, was sure this would not be granted. How could we leave Transvaal before Commission said what Transvaal was? Kruger said Transvaal is what you annexed, and have since held. Kruger consented to Resident, but said that Government would deal with interior native affairs, and accepted suzerainty, as explained by me. It appeared clear that they fear trouble from loyal English, and therefore cannot entirely disperse their own, while they are anxious to get rid of English forces. I do not think they realize they may have to yield extensive tract to native tribes, and if they contemplated chance of Commission arranging this, they would not withdraw from Nek. After eight hours' talk I am confirmed in the opinion expressed in my telegram of 5th instant, words 131 to 149.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—17th March. The suggestion for Royal Commission came from Boers. We agreed to it, in belief that it was the most convenient way of inquiring into facts and considering details. Commission would consider all representations and would make representations, but not finally decide. We could not agree to mixed Commission, but Commission would meet representatives of Boers and discuss all matters with them. You report that of the points mentioned in my telegram of 12th instant, suzerainty and Resident are accepted, and we infer that control of foreign relations and frontier affairs is also accepted. With regard to interior native affairs, Commission would have to consider what securities should be taken as to future treatment of Natives. As to re-arrangement of territorial limits, we never contemplated that territory north of Vaal River and west of Oliphant's River should be severed from Transvaal. Commission would consider how much, if any, of the territory to the east of a line practically thirtieth parallel of longitude should be retained. Joubert seems to have been favourable so far as concerns territory south of Vaal River, and we think a separation of the Transvaal territory from such native tribes as Zulus and Swazies may prove to be as much, if not more, for interest of Boers as of ourselves. As regards dispersion, we understand that Boers are disposed to agree generally to our terms as explained in your telegram of 15th; but our troops must remain in Transvaal till final settlement, and it will be their duty to prevent any party from using the situation to the prejudice of Boers. Use your discretion as to further prolongation of armistice.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Mount Prospect, 21st March, 9.25 P.M. After sitting twelve and a half hours without intermission the following is an epitome, attested by the leaders and me, as correctly showing proceedings, which proceedings have been signed by the Boers and me, subject to your ratification. I urge your approval, and, if you can, to shorten the interval to four months; authorize me

to ratify proceedings, when Boers will disperse. Armistice prolonged for forty-eight hours. Brand's presence has been invaluable. "The Boer leaders having previously accepted telegrams of 8th and 12th, except in two points since abandoned, and having been acknowledged as leaders by Sir Evelyn Wood, have accepted the principle of suzerainty as defined by him—viz., that the country have entire self-government as regards its own interior affairs, but that it cannot take action against or with an outside Power without permission of the suzerain. They agree to recognize a British Resident at the future capital of the country with such functions as the British Government may decide on the recommendation of the Royal Commission, and also that the Royal Commission should consider the provisions for the protection of native interests, and as to frontier affairs, that control of relations with foreign Power should be reserved. We further trust that if the Royal Commission considers any separation of land to the east of the thirtieth degree of longitude to be necessary, such Commission will not recommend the separation of more land than is necessary for the purpose of the English policy, as indicated in the telegram of the 17th March. We accept the arrangement proposed by Sir E. Wood about exchange of property captured during the war or taken over at the annexation, the exchange to be carried out when self-government is fully accorded. Sir E. Wood acknowledged the right of the Transvaal people to complete self-government, subject to suzerain rights. The Boer leaders stated they would gladly co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in bringing to justice those who have committed or are directly responsible for acts contrary to civilized warfare. As the Boers have agreed to withdraw from the Nek and disperse to their homes, Sir E. Wood promises that he will not occupy that position, nor follow them up with troops, nor send ammunition into the Transvaal. The Boer leaders accept the terms offered in the telegram of the 17th March. They state we will trust to the British Government to give to us complete self-government as soon as possible, and, at latest, within six months, it being understood that no civil action be entertained in respect of proceedings taken during or in reference to the war, and equally no action shall be taken in respect of taxation until the self-government is accorded."

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—7 P.M., 22nd March, 1881. We approve your proceedings as reported in your telegram of the 21st, and authorize you to ratify them accordingly. We will do our best to shorten the interval as much as possible. We find it hard to understand precise bearing of sentences of your telegram after words "at latest within six months," but see no reason to anticipate difficulty or delay on their account conclusion of present arrangement. I need only observe, with reference to the provision as to civil action, that it is of course understood that there will be no molestation hereafter for political opinion or action either way in connection with the war. Convey to President Brand warmest acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—Sent 7 P.M., March 22nd, 1881. Her Majesty's Government desire to convey to you their high sense of your conduct in the recent proceedings, and the skill and judgment which you have shown throughout in your communications with the Boer leaders.

APPENDIX L.

THE POTCHEFSTROM SURRENDER.

The following is a summary of the Address of the Boer Triumvirate to the Burghers:—

We consider it our duty to communicate to you in detail what has happened in Potchefstrom, and to state to you the reasons why we have permitted that surrender to be cancelled and the garrison to return to that place. It is thought the Commandant at Potchefstrom had suppressed the existence of an armistice, as if that armistice had immediately to commence for Potchefstrom also, and had thus committed a disgraceful act of treachery. As soon as we saw this we requested the Royal Commission to grant us an opportunity to explain the whole matter so as to remove the blame cast upon us. The Royal Commission has courteously granted us an opportunity last Monday, 20th inst., to give the explanation offered. We now proceed to state what has been declared by us there:—

1. On the 6th of March, 1881, the deed of armistice was signed at a place half-way between Mount Prospect and Lang's Nek.

2. Information of this armistice reached the Government at Heidelberg on the 10th of March, with a letter from Commandant-General P. J. Joubert. This letter was accompanied by some instructions, forwarded immediately from the Government to General P. A. Cronje, at Potchefstrom.

3. These documents, forwarded by an express, reached Potchefstrom on the 12th of March.

4. While the General was preparing to carry out his instructions, and letters for that purpose were being written to Rustenberg, Marico, and Bloemhof, one G. P. Mollet from Kronstadt, in the Orange Free State, arrived at the moment when copies of these instructions were being prepared. He brought a letter from His Honour the President of the Free State.

5. In that letter there was a telegram from General Wood to the President, in which he requested His Honour to forward news to Potchefstrom of the armistice agreed to.

6. General Cronje was brought into a state of uncertainty by all this. According to the instructions sent to him in the name of Commandant-General P. J. Joubert, he had to send the notice to the garrison, and from the letter of the President of the Free State, he saw that General Wood invited the latter to send this notice. He considered this contradictory, and now determined to refrain from all steps until he had received further instructions from the Government.

7. On the 14th of March a court-martial was held, when it was resolved to write to His Honour the President, that the letter would as yet not be sent in, and that instructions would first be asked from Heidelberg.

8. On the 16th of March the post left for Heidelberg, and by it written instructions were asked from the Government how to act in this matter.

9. Before any reply could be received from Heidelberg, General Cronje

received a letter from Colonel Winsloe, asking him for an interview and for the reason why he had received no intimation of the armistice.

10. General Cronje replied that he would strictly adhere to the terms of the armistice, and therefore required no interview, before the arrival of the provisions.

11. The same morning a reply arrived, in which Colonel Winsloe again solicited an interview, and intimated that he had to communicate important documents.

12. General Cronje now consented to an interview and fixed, for that purpose, on a spot between the English camp and the Boer fortifications, on condition of temporary cessation of hostilities from the same Saturday at 12 noon.

13. By order of General Cronje, a marquee was put up and he proceeded thither, accompanied by Messrs. Bodenstein, J. Kock, Coos Wolmarans, and G. H. Buskes as interpreter. When their arrival was noticed in the English Camp, Colonel Winsloe approached, accompanied by Lieutenant Rundell, Lieutenant Woollies, and a Burgher, Nelson, who had assumed the military dress.

14. All remained outside the marquee. Colonel Winsloe had two papers in his hand, the documents mentioned in his letter. He read them, and it then came out that they were (1) copy of the armistice and (2) copy of General Wood's telegram to President Brand.

15. Colonel Winsloe pointed to Article 3—"That Piet Joubert engages to make known this agreement of armistice to the garrisons," and asked why this was not carried out. Cronje replied that something had occurred, after he had received his instructions, which had compelled him to ask further instructions from his Government.

16. Colonel Winsloe then said that he had also received information that the provisions had arrived in the town, which General Cronje positively denied. Colonel Winsloe asked: "Are they not on the banks of the Vaal River in the Orange Free State?" General Cronje replied: "If you will believe me as a man of honour, then I must assure you that I have positively no information thereof." Upon this the English Commandant was requested to enter the tent with his staff.

17. A discussion ensued about the armistice. Colonel Winsloe spoke about the terms, and said he thought that now a cessation of hostilities had been agreed to in the Drakensberg the hope might be entertained that peace would ensue, which he for himself heartily wished for, and that therefore the further shedding of blood would be prohibited from both sides equally at Potchefstrom. He then asked whether he could not agree with Cronje to commence an immediate armistice there also, instead of waiting until the day of arrival of the provisions there, as stipulated in the deed of armistice. He also intimated that he did not ask to be supplied with provisions, as he could, if required, still hold out for eight days. General Cronje replied, "The terms of the armistice do not allow me to accept this, and my further instructions positively forbid me to do this."

18. Upon this Colonel Winsloe and his staff withdrew outside the marquee, and on returning asked for an armistice for twenty-four hours, in order to consult with his officers on the question as to whether a surrender was possible. General Cronje, with his officers, then withdrew outside the marquee, and on returning said, "I will give you an armistice of twenty-four hours, and then we can meet again at the same spot tomorrow at 12 o'clock. During that time no hostilities will be carried on,

but both sides will remain inside their positions." It was thus decided by verbal agreement, which both parties strictly observed.

19. The next day at 12 noon, Sunday, March 20, the second meeting took place. Colonel Winsloe had put down three or four points on a small slip of paper, and stated that he had consulted with his officers, and was willing and had decided to surrender, if this could be done with military honour, with the retention of all the arms and private effects of the officers. Our General declared that he agreed to this, and most of the other points, as embodied in the memorandum or protocol the next day, were then discussed and decided upon, Advocate Buskes and Lieutenant Rundell being appointed to draft a contract in triplicate, which was to be signed the next day.

20. Another request was made by Colonel Winsloe, namely, whether the prisoners of war, taken at the surrender of the Landdrost Office on the 18th of December, 1880, and of whom, although the majority had been released, some were still retained as prisoners of war, could not also be released on the same favourable conditions now agreed to with regard to the troops in the fort. General Cronje replied he could not decide upon this before consulting his court-martial. That same day he convened a court-martial and forthwith communicated, by letter, to Colonel Winsloe the favourable decision arrived at by that Court. Colonel Winsloe, in reply, expressed his appreciation of this courteous consideration.

21. On Monday, March 21st, at 9 A.M., the Protocol or Memorandum was signed on the same spot where the two previous meetings had been held. This document, already published, proved that General Cronje granted the most favourable terms possible, considering the circumstances, and that he fully understood and gallantly carried out the repeated instructions to honour the courage of the brave troops who for months had suffered a most trying siege.

22. On the evening of the same day the English officers were present at a dinner given to them by General Cronje, and repeatedly expressed their appreciation of the courtesy with which the negotiations had been conducted by General Cronje.

23. The troops, under the escort of Mr. Wolmarans and three other Burghers, left on the 23rd of March. The Colonel was assisted in various ways, tents were given him, waggons were procured and provisions procured from the Commissariat, to prevent their falling into the hands of speculators, who would have made the most of their position. Colonel Winsloe expressly thanked General Cronje for his courtesy.

24. On the 9th of April only a messenger arrived at Potchefstrom, bringing the news that the provisions were approaching.

25. On Friday, April 8th, General Wood informed the Government at Heidelberg that General Cronje had neglected to send in notice of the armistice, as agreed in the armistice. The members of the Government present at that interview were not aware of this, and voluntarily declared that, if the circumstances connected with the surrender were such as they were said to be, they would not allow a stain to rest on the people, as if they had derived any benefit from taking advantage of a good opportunity. They offered General Wood in a letter, assuming the information given them by General Wood to be correct, to cancel the surrender, to restore everything taken, and to allow General Wood to send back the garrison, if he considered it necessary. General Wood then expressed his satisfaction with that offer.

26. At Newcastle it was deemed necessary that the garrison, accompanied by an escort and one of our most trustworthy Commandants, should return, while two of our best men were to remain at Newcastle as hostages until the escort should have returned. Messrs. J. S. Joubert and J. Cronje—the latter of whom was afterwards relieved by Mr. W. Kok—influenced by patriotism, did not hesitate to suffer this kind of imprisonment, and they are hostages still.

27. The above-mentioned points were fully explained in the meeting of the Royal Commission of last Monday, and in conclusion it was stated: That we refrained from drawing any conclusions from the facts communicated or to make the least remark; that we did not desire to alter or withdraw anything that was granted or agreed to execute; that it was our endeavour to show that when once we promised anything, we, as men of honour, would see such promise fulfilled; that we now placed the whole case in the hands of the Royal Commission, whose defence we asked against the accusation that we acted treacherously with respect to the surrender of Potchefstrom, which stain we cannot possibly allow to remain on us. The Commission had the power to justify us, and we fully trusted that they would do so. We now expect the Commission's decision. Fellow-burghers, to you also we say nothing more about this; the facts speak for themselves.

The list of casualties on the British side during the siege of Potchefstrom comprised the following:—Killed or died of their wounds, 1 officer (Captain A. L. Falls, 2-21st Regiment), 24 non-commissioned officers and men; died from disease, 4 non-commissioned officers and men, 2 civilians (of whom one was Mrs. Sketchley); wounded, 5 officers (Lieutenant-Colonel Winsloe, 2-21st, Lieutenants H. M. S. Rundle, R.A., P. W. Brown, and Dalrymple Hay, 2-21st; Surgeon Wallis, A.H.C.; 47 non-commissioned officers and men, and 2 civilians.

APPENDIX M.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

The following is the full text of the instructions from the Colonial Office to H.E. Sir H. Robinson:—

"Downing Street, 31st March, 1881.

"You have received from Sir E. Wood a statement of the conditions agreed upon between him and the leaders of the Transvaal Boers on the 21st March, and I have now the honour to acquaint you that the Queen has approved of the appointment of yourself, Sir E. Wood, and Sir H. de Villiers to be Her Majesty's Commissioners for considering and advising upon the final arrangements for the settlement of the affairs of the Transvaal. I shall shortly transmit to you a Commission under the Queen's sign manual and signet for the appointment of the Commissioners, but as the first duties of the Commissioners will be those of inquiry and discussion, and some time must elapse before any formal

action on their part will be required, the Commission will have been able to enter without delay upon the consideration of the matters referred to it. You will preside at the meetings of the Commission, and in your absence Sir E. Wood has precedence of Sir H. de Villiers. I have communicated to President Brand by telegraph the hope of Her Majesty's Government that he will be able to be present, as representing a friendly State, at the proceedings of the Royal Commission, and I understand that he proposes to apply to the Volksraad for the leave necessary to enable him to go beyond the Free State for that purpose.

"It has been agreed that the Commissioners should meet such representatives as the Boers may select to express their views, and should fully discuss with them the questions which have to be settled. The Commissioners will make such arrangements for the time and place of their meetings as may be most convenient to all parties.

"It may be desirable that the Commission should in the first instance address itself to the principal points referred to in the general terms of settlement agreed to by Sir E. Wood with the Boer leaders, a summary of which is contained in his telegram to me of the 21st March, and to some extent further explained in subsequent telegraphic correspondence. I may recapitulate them briefly as follows:—

"The Transvaal State is to enjoy complete self-government under the suzerainty of the Queen; the control of its relations with Foreign Powers being reserved to the British Government.

"A British Resident may be appointed at the capital of the Transvaal State, with such functions as Her Majesty's Government may determine, on the recommendation of the Commission.

"The Commission is to consider provisions for the protection of Native interests.

"The Commission is further to consider whether any portion, within certain limits, mentioned in my telegram to Sir E. Wood of March 17th, should be severed from the country now included in the Transvaal Province.

"There is to be no molestation for political opinion either way, and a complete amnesty is to be accorded to all who have taken part in the present war, excepting only persons who have committed or are directly responsible for acts contrary to the rules of civilized warfare.

"Immunity from civil process is guaranteed to the Boer leaders individually and collectively for acts done in reference to the war until self-government is accorded, and the question of compensation to either side for acts not justified by necessities of war is remitted to the Commission to judge what acts were justified.

"Besides these principal points there are some other matters referred to in the agreement entered into by Sir E. Wood, as reported in his telegrams to me, and there are further points not mentioned by him which will have to be provided for in the final settlement. Of the latter, the most important are the determination of a boundary line in the territory known as the Keate Award, the payment of the public debt of the province, and the recognition of all lawful acts done by the Government during the British occupation. I will deal in order with the various points to which I have referred.

"Entire freedom of action will be accorded to the Transvaal Government so far as is not inconsistent with the rights expressly reserved to the Suzerain Power. The term Suzerainty has been chosen as most conveniently describing superiority over a State possessing independent

rights of government, subject to reservations with reference to certain specified matters.

"The most material of these reserved rights is the control of the external relations of the future Transvaal State, which will be vested in the British Government, including, of course, the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers. As regards communication with Foreign Governments, it will probably be found most convenient that the Transvaal Government should correspond on such matters with Her Majesty's Government through the Resident and the High Commissioner.

"There remains for consideration under this head the manner in which the relations with the independent native tribes beyond the frontier should be conducted. The general superintendence of these relations would seem naturally to fall within the functions of the British Resident, under the direction of the High Commissioner. It will be for the Royal Commissioners, after examination of the whole question, to recommend what should be the precise limits of the powers assigned to the Resident in regard to this important matter. You will bear in mind that the objects to be aimed at are to preserve the peace of the frontier and to maintain a course of policy conducive generally to the interests and tranquillity of the whole of South Africa, and that Her Majesty's Government have no desire to interfere with the local administration beyond what may be indispensable for the furtherance of these objects. A still more difficult question will be to determine what provisions shall be made for the protection of the interests of the natives who dwell within the present territorial limits of the Transvaal. The districts vary greatly in circumstances, but they may be divided into three categories:—

"1. Districts which have been really occupied by white settlement, such as Pretoria, Heidelberg, Middelberg, and Potchefstrom, where the white settlers are not much outnumbered by the natives, and where the authority of the Republican Government was thoroughly established before the annexation.

"2. Districts like Leydenberg, where the white settlements are surrounded by native tribes vastly preponderating in numbers, which either refused to recognize the rule of the Boers, or gave it but imperfect obedience. In the northern part of this district is Secocoeni's tribe, which we found at war with the Boers, and practically independent, and which was reduced to submission by the operations of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

"3. Such districts as Zoutpansberg, where the population is estimated at nearly 365,000 souls, while the white settlers are said to number only about 800, and where the authority of the Republic was at the time of the annexation scarcely acknowledged. It is true the Boers laid claim to the country and formerly held possession of parts of it, but they had been gradually pushed back by the natives, who had virtually regained their independence. The difficulty of dealing satisfactorily with the districts in the two last categories led Her Majesty's Government to think that it might be found expedient to sever from the Transvaal the eastern portion of the territory now comprised within its limits, taking the Vaal River and a line drawn from the Vaal northward near the 30th degree of longitude as the new boundary. This would, however, include a part of the district of Middelberg, and it will be probably sufficient to consider the suggestion as limited to the severance of the districts of Wakkerstrom, Utrecht, Leydenberg, and Zoutpansberg. The district of Waterberg

resembles that of Zoutpansberg in the vast numerical superiority of the natives, but its position is such that it could not form a part of a separate British province, and as far as I am aware the natives had not driven back the Boer settlers in the same way as in Zoutpansberg. I will, however, refer to this district further on in connection with Zoutspansberg.

"To deal first with the Wakkerstrom and Utrecht districts. There would be one obvious advantage in retaining these districts under British rule, inasmuch as they would separate the Transvaal State from Zululand, and prevent the recurrence of those dangerous border disputes between the Boers and the Zulus which were in large measure the cause of the Zulu war. Moreover, the existence of another authority on the Zulu border would render it extremely difficult for the British Government to maintain that influence with the Zulu Chiefs which is essential for the maintenance of peace in Zululand, and for the success of the settlement of that country made by Sir Garnet Wolseley. The same reasons apply to that part of Leydenberg known as New Scotland, by retaining which as British the Swazies would in great measure be kept apart from the Boer frontier. If strong objections were raised on the part of the Boers to the severance from the Transvaal of the whole of Wakkerstrom, so much only might be retained as would be necessary to maintain the communications between Natal and the British territory further northward, but the Vaal River would form the most natural and convenient boundary.

"With regard to the Leydenberg district apart from New Scotland, the arguments in favour of maintaining British rule over it are that the population is stated to contain an increasing British element principally at the Gold Fields; that the native population vastly outnumbers the white inhabitants, being estimated at 123,300 as compared with 1,578; and that having subdued Secocoeni's tribe which occupies an important part of the district we are under peculiar obligations to make provision for its fair treatment. On the other hand, the Leydenberg district could scarcely be annexed to Natal, and as a separate British province it would form an inconvenient narrow strip of territory, which would probably not pay its own expenses. Lastly, Her Majesty's Government are averse, on general grounds of policy, to the extension of British territory in South Africa.

"A most important consideration will be the wishes of the settlers themselves, and you will be careful to ascertain in the fullest manner whether they would willingly accept the continuance of British rule, if it should be determined to retain any of the territory to which I have referred. If Secocoeni's country is not retained under British rule, or declared to be an independent native district, it might be advisable that some special conditions should be made as to its relations with the Transvaal State, and should it be ultimately decided that no territory should intervene between the Transvaal State and Zululand or Swazieland, it will be necessary that the Transvaal Government should distinctly recognize the boundaries of Zululand and Swazieland as lately defined, and the independence of the latter, over which the Republic appears to have claimed an undefined supremacy before the annexation, though it was not acknowledged by the Swazies.

"I now pass to Zoutpansberg. I incline to the opinion that the most satisfactory arrangement as to this district would be that it should be left to the native tribes. I should be glad if some similar arrangement

could have been made as to Waterberg, but the reasons for leaving the district to the native tribes do not appear to be so strong as in the case of Zoutpansberg; and as the Boers have been informed that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government that territory should be severed from the Transvaal west of the 30th degree of longitude, the question does not stand on the same footing.

"It should be remembered, however, that the severance of the districts principally inhabited by natives would have the effect of lessening the necessity for interference for the protection of the natives within the territories of the Transvaal State, and such a measure might, therefore, recommend itself to the Boers as diminishing the occasions for action on the part of the British Government with regard to their interior affairs. It is on every account desirable that interference in those affairs should be confined to the fewest possible points, and those points should be clearly defined and embodied in the final settlement among the conditions upon which the government of the country is handed over. The subject is one especially requiring examination on the spot, but I may mention one or two points as indicating the nature of the provisions which might be made; as, for example, the stipulations that no law should be enacted forbidding the natives to hold land, and that they should be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere.

"The provision in the Sand River Convention against slavery, in any form, must of course be re-affirmed. Perhaps on some matters of especial importance affecting the natives it might be provided that the Suzerain power should have a veto upon any new legislation. Whatever provisions are made, it would be one of the duties of the British Resident to report to the High Commissioner as to their working and observance.

"It is scarcely to be hoped that political passions will immediately calm down, and Her Majesty's Government are bound to take care that those who have been faithful to the British cause during the late war shall not suffer any detriment in consequence of their loyalty. Her Majesty's Government have agreed to a complete amnesty to those who have taken part with the Boers, and the Boers on their side have engaged that no one shall suffer molestation on account of his political opinions. It will be your duty to lay down full and explicit conditions for securing to those who have been loyal to Her Majesty, whether of English or Dutch origin, full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights and protection for their persons and property.

"You will make every effort to bring to justice those who are accused of the murder of Captain Elliott and Mr. Barbour, or of any similar acts, and you will call on the Boer leaders, in accordance with their engagement to Sir Evelyn Wood, to afford you their assistance in tracing out and arresting the offenders.

"Having thus gone through the principal points arising out of the agreement between Sir E. Wood and the Boers, I will proceed to notice the other matters to which I have referred.

"You will find the question of the territory known as the 'Keate Award' somewhat fully discussed in my Despatch of the 27th May last to the late Sir G. P. Colley. It was my intention on receiving his report to instruct him to determine such a new line of boundary as might in present circumstances appear to be the fairest to all parties, and best calculated to preserve the peace on the western frontier of the Transvaal.

Sir G. Colley had unfortunately not made any official report of the result of his visit to this territory, but I have reason to believe that he was of opinion that it was out of the question now to maintain the line laid down in 1871 by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, and that he would have recommended a new line, leaving a considerable part of the territory to the Transvaal. It will be for you to consider what line should be adopted, and you will, I have no doubt, derive valuable information and assistance from Lieut.-Col. Moysey, R.E., the Special Commissioner in the Keate Award District. It may be found desirable to annex some part of this territory to Griqualand West or to the Orange Free State, but this must depend upon considerations which I am unable from want of local knowledge fully to appreciate. I will only add that this border has been so long in an unsettled condition that it is urgently necessary that the frontier line should be definitively fixed with as little delay as possible.

"On reference to the constitution of the former South African Republic I find that there are articles which appear to infringe upon the principle of religious toleration. I am not aware that any actual impediment was placed by the State in the way of the free exercise of their religion by persons belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church; but to prevent any misconception on the point it will be well to provide for the unrestricted exercise of their religion by all denominations within the future Transvaal State.

"The Commission will have to consider the arrangements to be made for the assumption by the Transvaal State of the debt incurred in connection with the administration of the affairs of the country, whether by the South African Republic before the annexation, or by the Provincial Government subsequently. I may refer you on this point to the declaration made by the Boer leaders in their proclamation of the 16th December last, that the 'lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the country by the intermediate Government will be acknowledged.'

"There will also be other financial arrangements to be considered in connection with the transfer of responsibilities and liabilities to the future Transvaal State, including such provision as is usually made on these occasions for compensating any permanent officers displaced by the change of Government.

"I need scarcely say that it will be expected that full security for the continued enjoyment of their rights shall be guaranteed to all holders of property in the Transvaal, after the establishment of the new government. I cannot doubt that the necessary undertaking will be readily given, and it will be for the Commission to consider and recommend the terms in which such undertaking should be framed. Provisions will also be required for securing to British subjects complete freedom of trade to and through the Transvaal, on the same footing as citizens of the Transvaal State. I shall transmit to you a copy of a treaty now in force, which will be of use to the Commission in considering the stipulations to be entered into on this subject.

"With regard to the formal style and designation of the future Transvaal State, I am disposed to think that instead of reviving the name 'South African Republic' (which never was appropriate, having regard to the fact that there were two Republics in South Africa) it would be preferable to adopt the name 'Transvaal State.' Before the annexation the country was very commonly spoken of as the Transvaal, and it

would be convenient, as in the case of the Orange Free State, to describe it by the river which forms its southern boundary. I shall from time to time address to you instructions upon any further points which may arise.—I have, &c.,

"KIMBERLEY."

"Downing Street, April 7, 1881.

"SIR,—In my despatch of the 31st March, which conveyed to you the instructions to the Royal Commissioners for the settlement of the affairs of the Transvaal, I referred to the arrangements to be made for the assumption by the Transvaal State of the debt incurred in connection with the administration of the affairs of the country.

"2. You will find a full and careful examination of the liabilities of the Transvaal in the report which I enclose on the financial affairs of that province made to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in February of last year by the officers appointed to inquire into the military expenditure in South Africa. I also enclose a copy of a report by Mr. W. C. Sargeaunt, C.M.G., on the financial condition of the Transvaal, and other matters, and a copy of a despatch from Sir W. O. Lanyon, dated December 9, 1880, in which you will find a statement by Mr. Steel, the Acting Colonial Secretary of the Province, showing the amount of the debt, as calculated by the Provisional Government, up to October of that year.

"3. The Commissioners will perceive that two divisions of the debt, viz., the loan raised by the former Government of the South African Republic for railway construction, and the advance obtained by that Government from the Commercial Bank at Capetown for the redemption of its paper currency, are connected with transactions anterior to the British annexation.

"4. In the next category, that of the 'lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the country by the intermediate Government,' which the Boer leaders in their proclamation of the 16th December last declared that the people of the Transvaal would acknowledge, the principal item is the overdraft at the Standard Bank of British South Africa in Pretoria. This overdraft, which was not to exceed £150,000, and had apparently been reduced in November last to £140,900, but may probably have since been again increased, was arranged in order to meet outstanding liabilities partly incurred by the South African Republic, and to provide for the deficiency of current revenue.

"5. The only other principal head of indebtedness (independent of the war expenditure to which I shall presently refer) is the Parliamentary grant of £100,000. This sum was advanced to the province in 1878 on the understanding that there was a fair prospect of its repayment within a few years, to meet expenses connected with and immediately consequent upon the annexation, as well as liabilities taken over from the Government of the South African Republic, or incurred in connection with the administration of the province. To this grant should be charged, in the first place, all the expenses of Sir T. Shepstone's mission to the Transvaal, and the payments made by him on account of services directly relating to the annexation of the territory. Her Majesty's Government will be disposed, when the particulars of this expenditure have been ascertained, to consider whether the repayment of all the outlay arising out of the act of annexation should not be foregone.

"6. Her Majesty's Government will in like manner be prepared to consider any suggestions which may be made by the Commissioners, after their examination of the accounts have been completed, for the exemption of the Transvaal State from liability in respect of any item which, having regard to all the circumstances, may appear to be fairly chargeable to Imperial funds.

"7. There remains for consideration a large amount advanced to the Provincial Government by Her Majesty's Government from the Treasury Chest on account of the war against Secocoeni. I cannot at present give exact particulars of this advance, but, including the cost of the unsuccessful campaign conducted by Colonel Rowlands, it may amount to £400,000. It would in due course have been repaid to Her Majesty's Government, and it is obvious that the question whether it, or part of it, shall continue to be so repayable is closely connected with the question whether any and what part of the country within the present limits of the province shall be severed from the future Transvaal State. If the territory occupied by Secocoeni's tribe continues to be within the Transvaal State, the cost of subjugating it would obviously be a reasonable charge on Transvaal funds. The case would of course be otherwise if the Leydenberg or other districts in or in relation to which the war expenditure now under consideration was incurred should remain British territory, and the Commission would then have to consider with reference to the final territorial arrangements how this charge should be adjusted. And in connection with the whole question of the debt it should here be observed that if any portion of the present Transvaal Province is severed from the Transvaal State it would have to be considered how the charge for the total debt should be apportioned; but it is to be remembered that the revenue on the security of which the loans have been raised was produced principally within the districts to the westward of the thirtieth parallel of longitude.

"8. Among the points which I have thus indicated as demanding the special attention of the Royal Commissioners, there are some which present considerable difficulties, and will involve the consideration of complicated details. I am disposed to think that it may be necessary to give the Commissioners the assistance of one or more financial Sub-Commissioners for the examination of the facts connected with this part of the inquiry.

"9. I desire to receive, as soon as may be convenient, any observations which the Commissioners may have to offer on the subjects referred in this despatch.—I have, &c.,

"KIMBERLEY."

APPENDIX N.

THE CONVENTION.

The following are the full terms of the Convention:—

Her Majesty's Commissioners, for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission, passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April, 1881, do

hereby undertake and guarantee, on behalf of Her Majesty, that from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the Suzerainty of Her Majesty, Her heirs, and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal Territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations:—

Article I.—The said territory, to be hereinafter called the Transvaal State, will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit:

(Here follows the frontier-trace and definition of the boundaries.)

Article II.—Her Majesty reserves to Herself, Her heirs and successors, (*a*) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are hereinafter defined; (*b*) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any foreign State or native tribe in South Africa; and (*c*) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign Powers, such intercourse to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

Article III.—Until altered by the Volksraad or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal Territory to Her Majesty's Dominions, shall, except in so far as they are inconsistent with, or repugnant to, the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State, in so far as they shall be applicable thereto: Provided that no future enactment specially affecting the interests of natives shall have any force or effect in the said State without the consent of Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors, first had and obtained, and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident: Provided, further, that in no case will the repeal or amendment of any laws which have been enacted since the Annexation have a retrospective effect so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

Article IV.—On the 8th day of August, 1881, the Government of the said State, together with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of Annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened, and the Volksraad thus elected and convened will decide as to the future administration of the Government of the said State.

Article V.—All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules of civilized warfare committed during the recent hostilities will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without Her Majesty's consent, conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the gaols of the Transvaal State whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by Her Majesty's Administrator or other Officer Administering the Government, such remission will be recognized and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

Article VI.—Her Majesty's Government will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in

Article VIII. hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by Her Majesty's forces during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damage as may already have been compensated for; and the Government of the Transvaal State will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in Article VIII. hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by the people who were in arms against Her Majesty during the recent hostilities, except for such losses and damage as may already have been compensated for.

Article VII.—The decision of all claims for compensation, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, will be referred to a Sub-Commission, consisting of the Hon. George Hudson, the Hon. Jacobus Petrus De Wet, and the Hon. John Gilbert Kotzè. In case one or more of such Sub-Commissioners shall be unable or unwilling to act, the remaining Sub-Commissioner or Sub-Commissioners will, after consultation with the Government of the Transvaal State, submit, for the approval of Her Majesty's High Commissioner, the names of one or more persons to be appointed by him to fill the place or places thus vacated. The decisions of the said Sub-Commissioners, or of a majority of them, will be final. The said Sub-Commissioners will enter upon and perform their duties with all convenient speed. They will, before taking evidence, or ordering evidence to be taken in respect of any claim, decide whether such claim can be entertained at all under the rules laid down in the next succeeding Article. In regard to the claims which can be so entertained, the Sub-Commissioners will, in the first instance, afford every facility for an amicable arrangement as to the amount payable in respect of any claim, and only in cases in which there is no reasonable ground for believing that an immediate amicable arrangement can be arrived at will they take evidence, or order evidence to be taken. For the purpose of taking evidence and reporting thereon, the Sub-Commissioners may appoint deputies, who will, without delay, submit records of the evidence and their reports to the Sub-Commissioners. The Sub-Commissioners will arrange the sittings and the sittings of their deputies in such a manner as to afford the greatest convenience to the parties concerned and their witnesses. In no case will costs be allowed to either side other than the usual and reasonable expenses of witnesses whose evidence is certified by the Sub-Commissioners to have been necessary. Interest will not run on the amount of any claim, except as is hereinafter provided for. The said Sub-Commissioners will forthwith, after deciding upon any claim, announce their decision to the Government against which the award is made, and to the claimant. The amount of remuneration payable to the Sub-Commissioners and their deputies will be determined by the High Commissioner, after all the claims have been decided upon. The British Government and the Government of the Transvaal State will pay proportionate shares of the said remuneration, and of the expenses of the Sub-Commissioners and their deputies according to the amounts awarded against them respectively.

Article VIII.—For the purpose of distinguishing claims to be accepted from those to be rejected, the Sub-Commissioners will be guided by the following rules, viz.:—Compensation will be allowed for losses or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz.: (*a.*) Commandeering, seizure or destruction of property, or damage done to property; (*b.*) Violence done or threats used by persons in arms. In regard to acts under (*a*) compensation will be allowed for direct losses only. In regard to acts falling under (*b*) compensation

will be allowed for actual losses of property or actual injury to the same, proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment. No claims for indirect losses, except such as are in this Article specially provided for, will be entertained. No claims which have been handed in to the Secretary of the Royal Commission after the 1st day of July, 1881, will be entertained, unless the Sub-Commission shall be satisfied that the delay was reasonable. When claims for loss of property are considered the Sub-Commissioners will require distinct proof of the existence of the property, and that it neither has reverted nor will revert to the claimant.

Article IX.—The Government of the Transvaal State will pay and satisfy the amount of every claim awarded against it within one month after the Sub-Commissioners shall have notified their decision to the said Government, and in default of such payment the said Government will pay interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum from the date of such default; but Her Majesty's Government may, at any time before such payment, pay the amount, with interest, if any, to the claimant in satisfaction of his claim, and may add the sum thus paid to any debt which may be due by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government, as hereinafter provided for.

Article X.—The Transvaal State will be liable for the balance of the debts for which the South African Republic was liable at the date of annexation, to wit: the sum of £48,000, in respect of the Cape Commercial Loan, and £85,667 in respect of the Railway Loan, together with amount due on the 8th August, 1881, on account of the Orphan Chamber Debt, which now stands at £22,000, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the State. The Transvaal State will, moreover, be liable for the lawful expenditure, lawfully incurred, for the necessary expenses of the Province since annexation, to wit: the sum of £265,000, which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the 9th Article, will be a second charge upon the revenue of the State.

Article XI.—The debts due as aforesaid by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent., and any portion of such debt as may remain unpaid on the 8th August, 1882, shall be repayable by a payment for interest and sinking fund of Six Pounds and Ninepence per £100 per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of Six Pounds and Ninepence per £100 shall be payable half-yearly in British currency on the 8th February and 8th August in each year, provided always that the Transvaal State shall pay in reduction of the said debt the sum of £100,000 before the 8th August, 1882, and shall be at liberty at the close of any half-year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Article XII.—All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August, 1881, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities, and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country with enjoyment of all civil rights and protection for their persons and property.

Article XIII.—Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will be in every case made to and registered in

the name of the Native Location Commission hereinafter mentioned in trust for such natives.

Article XIV.—Natives will be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere, or for other lawful purposes, subject always to the Pass Laws of the said State, as amended by the Legislature of the Province, or as may hereafter be enacted under the provisions of the 3rd Article of this Convention.

Article XV.—The provisions of the 4th Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

Article XVI.—There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article XVII.—The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions. He will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal, and if need be for the repropriation of land for the purpose.

Article XVIII.—The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident:—1. He will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General. 2. In regard to Natives within the Transvaal State, he will (*a*) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (*b*) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of Natives, or attempts to incite Natives to rebellion, that may come to his knowledge; (*c*) use his influence with the Natives in favour of law and order; and (*d*) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of such persons and property of Natives as are consistent with the laws of the land. 3. In regard to Natives not residing in the Transvaal, (*a*) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such Natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment has been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (*b*) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with Native Chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (*c*) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between Transvaal residents and Natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested. 4. In regard to communications with Foreign Powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with Her Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

Article XIX.—The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of the Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachment upon lands beyond the said State. The Royal Commission

will forthwith appoint a person who will beacon off the boundary line between Ramatlabana and the point where such line first touches the Griqualand West boundary, ending between the Vaal and Hart Rivers. The person so appointed will be instructed to make an arrangement between the owners of the farms (Groot Fontein and Valley Fontein) on the one hand, and the Baralong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Baralongs.

Article XX.—All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of and outside the boundary of the Transvaal State, as defined in Article I., shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State, and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate compensation from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the Native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

Article XXI.—Forthwith after the taking effect of this Convention, a Native Location Commission will be constituted, consisting of the President (or in his absence the Vice-President) of the State, or some one deputed by him, the Resident or some one deputed by him, and a third person to be agreed upon by the President, or the Vice-President, as the case may be, and the President and such Commission will be a standing body for the performance of the duties hereinafter mentioned.

Article XXII.—The Native Location Commission will reserve to the Native tribes of the State such locations as they may be fairly and equitably entitled to, due regard being had to the actual occupation of such tribes. The Native Location Commission will clearly define the boundaries of such location, and for that purpose will in every instance first of all ascertain the minds of the parties interested in such land. In case land already granted in individual titles shall be required for the purpose of any location, the owners will receive such compensation, either in other land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. After the boundaries of any location have been fixed, no fresh grant of land within such location will be made, nor will the boundaries be altered without the consent of the Location Commission. No fresh grants of land will be made in the districts of Waterberg, Zoutpansberg, and Leydenberg until the locations in the said districts, respectively, shall have been defined by the said Commission.

Article XXIII.—If not released before the taking effect of this Convention, Secocoeni and those of his followers who have been imprisoned with him will be forthwith released, and the boundaries of their location will be defined by the Native Location Commission in the manner indicated in the last preceding Article.

Article XXIV.—The independence of the Swazi within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognized.

Article XXV.—No other or higher duties will be imposed on the im-

portation into the Transvaal State of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article, the produce or manufacture of any other country. Nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

Article XXVI.—All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are, or may be, imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

Article XXVII.—All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the prosecution and defence of their rights.

Article XXVIII.—All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April, 1877, and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall, within twelve months after such last-mentioned date, have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registrations to the Government of the Transvaal State.

Article XXIX.—Provision shall hereafter be made by a special instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's forces.

Article XXX.—All debts contracted since the Annexation will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted. All uncancelled postage and other revenue stamps issued by the Government since the Annexation will remain valid, and will be accepted, at their present value, by the future Government of the State. All licenses duly issued since the Annexation will remain in force during the period for which they have been issued.

Article XXXI.—No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed since the time of the Annexation will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed after such date. All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, the Native Location Commission taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

Article XXXII.—This Convention will be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Article XXXIII.—Forthwith after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out.

Signed at Pretoria this 3rd day of August, 1881.

HERCULES ROBINSON,
EVELYN WOOD,
H. DE VILLIERS,
Royal Commissioners.

We, the undersigned, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, as representatives of the Transvaal Burghers, do hereby agree to all the above conditions, reservations, and limitations under which Self-Government has been restored to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, subject to the Suzerainty of Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors, and we agree to accept the Government of the said territory with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, on the 8th day of August, 1881, and we promise and undertake that this Convention shall be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad of the Transvaal State within three months from date.

Signed at Pretoria, this 3rd day of August, 1881.

STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER,
MARTINUS WESSEL PRETORIUS,
PETRUS JACOBUS JOUBERT.

APPENDIX O.

THE TRANSVAAL VOLKSRAAD.

The following were the proceedings of the special session of the old Volksraad, held at Pretoria, on Wednesday, August 10th, in relation to the Convention between the Royal Commission and the Boer Leaders. The members present were:—C. J. Bodensteijn, Chairman, T. N. de Villiers, D. P. Talajaard, P. Roets, M. van Breda, C. J. C. van Rooijen, C. B. Otto, T. Dreyer, J. Spies, C. Birkenstock, J. H. Potgieter, P. Venter, M. W. Vorster, J. J. Hoffman, S. T. Prinsloo, P. de la Rey, C. C. van Heerden, and J. P. Otto.

His Honour Vice-President Kruger said that on account of bodily infirmity he was not able to read the opening speech himself.

Mr. Bok, the State Secretary, then read the opening speech:—

"Honourable President and Members of the Volksraad.

"1. I have summoned you, as representatives of the people, for the purpose of informing you that a Convention relative to the restoration of the country has been signed by the Royal Commission, appointed by the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and by us, the Triumvirate elected by you at Paardekraal, in accordance with the Commission given us at the special session of the Volksraad at Heidelberg on the 15th April last.

"2. Seeing that it is my earnest wish and desire that the several districts shall be fully represented at the confirmation of the said Convention, and seeing that, in consequence of the circumstances in which the country has now for more than four years been placed, many districts are not fully represented, and some are wholly represented, I therefore request you, by the opening of a new election for members of the Volksraad, to enable me to lay the Convention for confirmation before a fully-constituted Volksraad, and to obtain its direction as to the future concerns of the country.

"3. I request you to appoint this election within the shortest possible time, so that a special session of the Volksraad may be held during the month of September next.

"4. May Almighty God bless your deliberations."

The Chairman replied as follows:—"Honourable Members of the Triumvirate,—We heartily welcome you in our midst, and are more particularly delighted to see amongst us again our Vice-President, who has been confined to a bed of illness during the last few days. We are filled with extreme gratitude that Providence has spared your valuable life so as to enable us to learn through you from the Triumvirate that the commission entrusted to them in our last sitting at Heidelberg has been executed so far, and that our God has blessed your endeavours so that you are prepared to lay before the people, for ratification, a Convention, by which the people's independence and freedom have been restored. We appreciate it highly, and agree with your Honours that this Convention should be made known to the whole people, for the purpose of being ratified thereafter, as soon as possible, and we therefore consider your proposals so that, in accordance with the existing laws of the country, the burghers of the country should, at the next ensuing extraordinary session of the Volksraad, be properly, and, if possible, fully represented, and to accomplish the work which will then be submitted to them by your Honours."

In accordance with agreement, section 32 of the Convention was read, as also the concluding paragraph by which the Triumvirate agree to accept the conditions and stipulations of the Convention.

After some discussion, the following motion, proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. D. P. Taaljaard, was carried by acclamation:—

"The Volksraad, having seen section 1 of the opening speech of their Honours, rejoices to learn that a Convention has been entered into between Her Majesty's special representatives and our Triumvirate, by which amongst others our self-goverment and independence are restored, and requests the Executive Council to publish this Convention forthwith, in the Dutch language, in the *State Gazette*."

The second section of the Vice-President's speech was put on the order, and elicited some discussion. The following resolution, proposed by Mr. S. T. Prinsloo and seconded by Mr. M. W. Vorster, was carried, with one dissentient vote:—

"The Volksraad, having noticed section 1 of the opening speech, resolves to authorize the Executive to open an election for members of the Volksraad forthwith, so that all districts and burghers may be represented in the Volksraad according to law, and commission the Government immediately to notify to the officers and to instruct them to act in accordance with Volksraad resolution of May 29, 1876, Art. 91."

Section 3 of the opening speech coming on for discussion, it was resolved, upon the motion of Mr. C. B. Otto, seconded by Mr. J. P. Otto, to shorten the term of elections, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the country, and to instruct the Executive to have that term closed on the 15th of September at the farthest, and to have the first ensuing extraordinary meeting of the Volksraad as soon after as possible.

The Chairman, having pointed out that the Volksraad would now be totally dissolved, so that there would be no legal machinery to swear

in the newly-elected members, unless special provision were now made, it was unanimously resolved to empower the Government to give timely notice to the Chairman, or oldest member of the Volksraad, and two other members who may not be re-elected, to be in attendance here for the purpose of swearing in the newly-elected members.

This closed the proceedings of the session of the Raad.

APPENDIX P.

THE NEW TRANSVAAL VOLKSRAAD.

The Triumvirate, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, drew up and submitted the following Address to the newly-elected Volksraad, on the subject of the Convention and its ratification, as well as the measures which they recommended for the future conduct of the Government:—

"Mr. President and Members of the Honourable Volksraad,—It is with a feeling of inexpressible gratitude to God the Creator of all things that we at this special moment again welcome you here, and see you assembled to discuss the interests of our dearly-beloved Fatherland. Those interests, Gentlemen, are undoubtedly very important, and will require your individual attention and utmost exertion. We are, however, assured that God, who has thus far so visibly led us, will not withhold from you His support and assistance, but will accomplish the work of His hands.

"1. The commission entrusted to us by you at Paarde Kraal in December last, to exert all means which could lead to the restoration of the independence of the country without distinction; the preliminary conditions of peace entered into at Lang's Nek between the delegates of Her Majesty's British Government and our Government; the extraordinary Session of the Honourable the Volksraad held at Heidelberg; the negotiations with the Royal Commission appointed by the English Government—all this, gentlemen, has led to the conclusion of a Convention upon which the Honourable the Volksraad was convened on the 10th of August last, solely for the purpose of opening an election upon which your Honours have been elected, and which Convention we submit to you, and by which we have taken upon ourselves the obligation of laying it before you for ratification. We cannot flatter ourselves with the hope that the Convention will satisfy you in its various provisions. It has not satisfied ourselves, but we venture to give you this assurance, that we signed it under the conviction that, under the circumstances, sincere love for our Fatherland and solicitude in the welfare of South Africa demanded from us not to withhold our signatures from this Convention. We published in our *Staats Courant* literally, as far as possible, everything that has been uttered and that has happened between members of the Royal Commission and the Honourable Triumvirate and Members of the Transvaal Commission, from which you will see that we left nothing untried on our side to obtain those modifications in the Convention which appeared desirable to us. We are, however, convinced that many, if not all, the remarks advanced by us

will appear later on to have been well-founded, and that the British Government itself will have to propose modifications and changes in the Convention.

"2. It is our duty to remind you of the great amount of sympathy which we experienced from all sides during the late struggle from our brethren and co-religionists in the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape Colony, as well as from Europe, America, and not excluding the whole English Nation. This interest has evinced itself also in deeds. Not only from the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape Colony have important gifts been received for the alleviation of the needs of our wounded, and of the widows and orphans, but generally in support of our good cause were gifts forwarded to us from Holland, Germany, and France.

"3. When at Paarde Kraal the Government undertook its important task, the people bound themselves to it by a solemn oath. This oath they have faithfully observed, and the unanimity of the people became the strength of the country. Some fifty of our burghers have sacrificed their lives, and we stand by their graves with grief and gratitude. Many other burghers have paid in wounds for their patriotism. Government has provisionally appointed a Commission to make permanent provision for the widows and orphans of the burghers killed and for the families of the wounded. We will be glad of your co-operation in further regulating this matter. A great struggle for a good cause bears good fruits, and it is a pleasant task to us to refer you to the eminent spirit of invention showed by our burgher Mr. Ras, in the manufacture of two good guns, as also to the successful exertions of a number of our burghers who have succeeded in manufacturing cartridges and gunpowder. Without anticipating your decision, we think these men are entitled to public recognition at your hands.

"4. Two estimates will be submitted to your Assembly—one to the end of December next, and one for the financial year of 1882-83. Extraordinary circumstances demand extraordinary measures. The special expenses incurred by us for the war, in which many of our burghers have already come to our assistance; the expenses in consequence of the Convention; the payment of the old vested debt; and the deficit in the Orphan Chamber, urge us to lay before you special proposals, and in particular to ask your sanction for a modification of our system of taxation, which will more fairly and proportionately divide the burdens amongst the burghers. We are prepared to lay before you everything for the further elucidation of these financial matters.

"5. We further recommend to you to empower the Government to grant certain monopolies by which the industry of the country will be materially promoted. The manufacturing of articles, for which this our country itself possesses the finest materials, and which had hitherto to be imported at great expense from elsewhere, is a question of vital importance for the welfare of the State, as is also the better exploration of mines. Closely connected with this is the offer of premiums to inventors or manufacturers of requisites which have hitherto been imported from abroad, for which the Government requests your authority.

"6. The circumstances of the country have compelled us to grant many burghers of the country exemption from the fine imposed on the payment of Government dues. For this we solicit your approval.

"7. With regard to the Supreme Court, we request you to adopt

measures in order to enable us to appoint competent persons as Puisne Judges.

"8. The Government has decided, in anticipation of your approval, to establish a corps destined to become the nucleus of select artillerists, composed of sons of the soil, and also to establish cavalry corps.

"9. In submitting to you the list of officials appointed by us, we have to point out to you that the term of office of C. J. Joubert, ex-member of the Honourable the Executive Council, has terminated, and that in this matter provision will have to be made during the session. We also look to your Honourable House for a provision for the salary of the Honourable the Triumvirate and the members of the Executive Council.

"10. We have earnestly regarded the state of education in the whole country, which we have taken greatly to heart. We have considered that we have taken the first step in a better direction by appointing a very eminent gentleman (the Rev. S. J. Dutoit), of the Paarl. We recommend this subject to your attention with the utmost earnestness.

"11. Several other matters of greater or lesser importance will be laid before you during the session.

"Gentlemen,—We now beg to lay in your hands the welfare of the country, with full reliance on your collective co-operation, and the blessing of the God of our fathers.

"May the Lord bless your deliberations."

APPENDIX Q.

The annexed particulars in relation to the Boer losses and the numbers of their forces are given from authoritative sources:—

KILLED.

1880.

Dec. 17—Pieter van Vuren, Potchefstrom.
„ 20—A. Kiezer, Bronkhorstspruit.
„ 20—C. Coetzee, do.
„ 21—Hendrik Neethling, H'son, Pretoria.

1881.

Jan. 1—Jacobus Grundling, Potchefstrom.
„ 4—Johannes Joubert, do.
„ 6—4 men (names unknown), Pretoria.
„ 8—Barend Jacobus de Lange, Rustenberg.
„ 12—Hendrik Pretorius, S'son, Pretoria.
„ 27—Hendrik Combrink, Potchefstrom.
„ 28—Hendrik Klopper, Lang's Nek.
„ 28—Jacobus Potgieter do.
„ 28—Jacobus Coetzee do.
„ 28—Adriaan Swanepoel do.
„ 28—Izak Johannes Retief do.
„ 28—Dirk Uys, jun. do.

Jan. 28—Johannes Potgieter, Lang's Nek.
„ 28—Wynand Bezuidenhoud do.
„ 28—Lodewyk Bouwer do.
„ 28—Hermanus van Vuren do.
„ 28—Willem du Toit do.
„ 28—Johannes Botha do.
„ 28—Gerrit Potgieter do.
„ 28—Johannes Botman do.
„ 28—Willem Grobbelaar do.
„ 28— —. Vorster do.
Feb. 1—M. J. le Grange, Potchefstrom.
„ 8—Johannes Kruger, Ingogo.
„ 8—Jacobus Haman, A'son do.
„ 8—Gerrit Jordaan do.
„ 8—Pieter Karelsen do.
„ 8—Stefanus Oosthuijzen do.
„ 8—Johannes Maton do.
„ 8—Hendrik Pretorius, B'son do.
„ 8—Hendrik Dafel do.
„ 8—Jacobus Greiling do.
„ 24—William Findlay, Potchefstrom.
„ 26—Johannes Bekker, Mount Colley.
„ 26—Johannes Groenwald do.
Mar. 10—Frederick Bernardus Muller, Potchefstrom.

This shows 43 killed.

WOUNDED AND RECOVERED.

1880.

Dec. 16—Frans Robertse, Potchefstrom.
„ 16—Christoffel Engelbrecht do.
„ 18—Daniel van Graan do.
„ 20—Four men (names unknown), Bronkhorst Spruit

1881.

Jan. 1—Frederick Berning, Potchefstrom.
„ 6—Two men (names unknown), Pretoria.
„ 16—H. P. N. Pretorius do.
„ 16—Cornelis Lochenberg do.
„ 16—Frans Roberts do.
„ 22—Adriaan Venter, Potchefstrom.
„ 22—Frederick Visser do.
„ 22—Hendrick Scheffers do.
„ 22—Karl Buys do.
„ 22—Okkert Botha do.
„ 27—S. Wolfaard, P'son do.
„ 28—Stefanus Fourie, Lang's Nek.
„ 28—Johannes Botha do.
„ 28—Adriaan Venter do.
„ 28—Wynand Visage do.
„ 28—Roelof Visage do.
„ 28—Sybrand du Preez do.
„ 28—Michael Veltman do.

Jan.	28—Petrus Stoop	Lang's Nek.
,,	28—Albert Stoop	do.
,,	28—Josua Joubert	do.
,,	28—Adolf Craufort	do.
,,	28—Jan Greyling	do.
,,	28—Hendrik Hatting	do.
,,	28—Jacob Van der Merwe	do.
,,	28—Jan van Rensburg	do.
,,	28—Jacobus Smit	do.
,,	28—Lucas Potgieter	do.
,,	28—Petrus Erasmus	do.
,,	28—Cornelis Erasmus	do.
,,	28—Frans Badenhorst	do.
,,	28—Johannes Herbst	do.
,,	28—Philippus Oosthuyzen	do.
,,	28—Dirk Osthuyzen	do.
,,	28—Johannes Slabbert	do.
Feb.	4—Bernhard Mahler,	Potchefstrom.
,,	8—Hermanus de Jager,	Ingogo.
,,	8—Lucas Meyer	do.
,,	8— —. Scholtz	do.
,,	8—Tjaard Van der Walt	do.
,,	8—Gerrit Oosthuyzen	do.
,,	8—Jacobus Botha	do.
,,	26—Jacobus Labuschagne,	Mount Colley.
,,	26—Samuel Muller	do.
,,	26—Karel Pretorius	do.
,,	26—Gabriel Van der Merwe	do.
,,	26—Theunis Vermaak	do.
Mar.	5—Barth Roelof J. de Beer,	Potchefstrom.
,,	9—Coenraad Van der Berg	do.
,,	9—Marthinus Koen	do.

Total: 58 wounded.

The Rev. Dr. Merensky, Superintendent of the Berlin Mission in the Transvaal (who has been Chief Surgeon in the hospital, and treated all the wounded of the Transvaalers who were engaged in the three fights), gives the following particulars of the Boer losses during the war:—

At the fight of Lang's Nek, about 800 of the Transvaalers were at the Laager at Meeks, about six miles from the Nek; at the Nek there was only a small detachment. The loss of the Transvaalers in this engagement was: 14 killed, 20 wounded; two of them died afterwards.

At Schuin's Hooghte not more than 200 Transvaalers fought: losses, 8 killed, 10 wounded; two of them died afterwards.

At Amajuba Hill (or as this mountain is now called by the Transvaalers —Colley's Kop) less than 200 Transvaalers climbed the mountain and took it; they were supported by a few hundred who remained below. They lost 1 killed, 6 wounded; one of them died afterwards.

The names of all these men can be had by applying to Dr. Merensky, who has booked them.

The strength of Burghers (Boers) was stated as follows, viz.:—At Potchefstrom, 400 men, under Commandant Cronje; Rustenberg, 200

men, under Commandant Sarl Eloff; Pretoria, 1,000 men, under Commandants Erasmus and H. Pretorius; Christiana, 300 men, under Commandant Antonie Kock; Heidelberg, 250 men, under Commandant Malan; Leydenberg, 200 men, under Commandant P. Steyn; Standerton, 250 men, under Philip Minnaar; Wakkerstrom, 200; Laager on Berg and at Lang's Nek, 1,500 men, under Commandant-General Joubert—making a total force of 4,500 burghers.

APPENDIX R.

A CONVENTION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

Whereas the Government of the Transvaal State, through its Delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the said State, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, Superintendent of Education, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, a member of the Volksraad, have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August, 1881, and ratified by the Volksraad of the said State on the 25th October, 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient, and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved, and that the south-western boundaries fixed by the said Convention should be amended, with a view to promote the peace and good order of the said State, and of the countries adjacent thereto; and whereas Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration: Now, therefore, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared, that the following articles of a new Convention, signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the Right Honourable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and on behalf of the Transvaal State (which shall hereinafter be called the South African Republic) by the above-named Delegates, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, shall, when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic, be substituted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 3rd August, 1881; which latter, pending such ratification, shall continue in full force and effect.

ARTICLES.

Article I.

The Territory of the South African Republic will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit:

Beginning from the point where the north-eastern boundary line of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River, up the course of the Vaal River to the point of junction with it of the Klip River; thence up the course of the Klip River to the point of junction with it of the stream called Gansvlei; thence up the Gansvlei stream to its source in the Drakensberg;

thence to a beacon in the boundary of Natal, situated immediately opposite and close to the source of the Gansvlei stream; thence in a north-easterly direction along the ridge of the Drakensberg, dividing the waters flowing into the Gansvlei stream from the waters flowing into the sources of the Buffalo, to a beacon on a point where this mountain ceases to be a continuous chain; thence to a beacon on a plain to the north-east of the last described beacon; thence to the nearest source of a small stream called "Division Stream"; thence down this division stream, which forms the southern boundary of the farm Sandfontein, the property of Messrs. Meek, to its junction with the Coldstream; thence down the Coldstream to its junction with the Buffalo or Umzinyati River; thence down the course of the Buffalo River to the junction with it of the Blood River; thence up the course of the Blood River to the junction with it of Lyn Spruit or Dudusi; thence up the Dudusi to its source; thence 80 yards to Bea. I., situated on a spur of the N'Qaba-Ka-hawana Mountains; thence 80 yards to the N'Sonto River; thence down the N'Sonto River to its junction with the White Umvulozi River; thence up the White Umvulozi River to a white rock where it rises; thence 800 yards to Kambula Hill (Bea. II.); thence to the source of the Pemvana River, where the road from Kambula Camp to Burgers' Lager crosses; thence down the Pemvana River to its junction with the Bivana River; thence down the Bivana River to its junction with the Pongolo River; thence down the Pongolo River to where it passes through the Libombo range; thence along the summits of the Libombo range to the northern point of the N'Yawos Hill in that range (Bea. XVI.); thence to the northern peak of the Inkwakweni Hills (Bea. XV.); thence to Sefunda, a rocky knoll detached from and to the north-east end of the White Koppies, and to the south of the Musana River (Bea. XIV.); thence to a point on the slope near the crest of Matanjeni, which is the name given to the south-eastern portion of the Mahamba Hills (Bea. XIII.); thence to the N'gwangwana, a double-pointed hill (one point is bare, the other wooded, the beacon being on the former), on the left bank of the Assegai River and upstream of the Dadusa Spruit (Bea. XII.); thence to the southern point of Bendita, a rocky knoll in a plain between the Little Hlozane and Assegaai Rivers (Bea. XI.); thence to the highest point of Suluka Hill, round the eastern slopes of which flows the Little Hlozane, also called Ludaka or Mudspruit (Bea. X.); thence to the beacon known as "Viljoen's," or N'Duko Hill; thence to a point north-east of Derby House, known as Magwazidili's Beacon; thence to the Igaba, a small knoll on the Ungwempisi River, also called "Jonbert's Beacon," and known to the natives as "Piet's Beacon" (Bea. IX.); thence to the highest point of the N'Dhlovudwalili or Houtbosch, a hill on the northern bank of the Umqwempisi River (Bea. VIII.); thence to a beacon on the only flat-topped rock, about 30 feet high and about 30 yards in circumference at its base, situated on the south side of the Lamsamane range of hills, and overlooking the valley of the great Usuto River; this rock being 45 yards north of the road from Camden and Lake Banagher to the forests on the Usuto River (sometimes called Sandhlanas Beacon) (Bea. VII.); thence to the Gulungwana or Ibubulundi, four smooth bare hills, the highest in that neighbourhood, situated to the south of the Umtuli River (Bea. VI.) thence to a flat-topped rock, 8 feet high, on the crest of the Busuku, a low rocky range south-west of the Impulazi River

(Bea. V.) ; thence to a low bare hill on the north-east of, and overlooking the Impulazi River, to the south of it being a tributary of the Impulazi, with a considerable waterfall, and the road from the river passing 200 yards to the north-west of the beacon (Bea. IV.) ; thence to the highest point of the Mapumula range, the watershed of the Little Usuto River on the north, and the Umpulazi River on the south, the hill, the top of which is a bare rock, falling abruptly towards the Little Usuto (Bea. III.) ; thence to the western point of a double-pointed rocky hill, precipitous on all sides, called Makwana, its top being a bare rock (Bea. II.) ; thence to the top of a rugged hill of considerable height falling abruptly to the Komati River, this hill being the northern extremity of the Isilotwani range, and separated from the highest peak of the range Inkomokazi (a sharp cone) by a deep neck (Bea. I.). (On a ridge in the straight line between Beacons I. and II. is an intermediate beacon.) From Beacon I. the boundary runs to a hill across the Komati River, and thence along the crest of the range of hills known as the Makongwa, which runs north-east and south-west, to Kamhlubana Peak ; thence in a straight line to Mananga, a point in the Libombo range, and thence to the nearest point in the Portuguese frontier on the Libombo range ; thence along the summits of the Libombo range to the middle of the poort where the Komati River passes through it, called the lowest Komati Poort ; thence in a north by easterly direction to Pokioens Kop, situated on the north side of the Olifant's River, where it passes through the ridges ; thence about north-north-west to the nearest point of Serra di Chicundo ; and thence to the junction of the Pafori River with the Limpopo or Crocodile River ; thence up the course of the Limpopo River to the point where the Marique River falls into it. Thence up the course of the Marique River to "Derde Poort," where it passes through a low range of hills called Sikwane, a beacon (No. 10) being erected on the spur of said range near to, and westward of, the banks of the river ; thence, in a straight line, through this beacon to a beacon (No. 9), erected on the top of the same range, about 1,700 yards distant from beacon No. 10 ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 8) erected on the highest point of an isolated hill, called Dikgagong, or "Wildebeest Kop," situated south-eastward of, and about 3⅜ miles distant from a high hill, called Moripe ; thence in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 7) erected on the summit of an isolated hill or "koppie" forming the eastern extremity of the range of hills called Moshweu, situated to the northward of, and about two miles distant from, a large isolated hill called Chukudu-Chochwa ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 6) erected on the summit of a hill forming part of the same range, Moshweu ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 5) erected on the summit of a pointed hill in the same range ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 4) erected on the summit of the western extremity of the same range ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 3) erected on the summit of the northern extremity of a low, bushy hill, or "koppie," near to and eastward of the Notwane River ; thence in a straight line to the junction of the stream called Metsi-Mashwane with the Notwane River (No. 2) ; thence up the course of the Notwane River to Sengoma, being the Poort where the river passes through the Dwarsberg range ; thence, as described in the Award given by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, dated October 17, 1871, by Pitlanganyane (narrow place), Deboaganka or Schaapkuil, Sibatoul (bare place), and Maclase, to Ramatlabama,

a pool on a spruit north of the Molopo River. From Ramatlabama the boundary shall run to the summit of an isolated hill, called Leganka; thence in a straight line, passing north-east of a Native Station, near "Buurman's Drift," on the Molopo River, to that point on the road from Mosiega to the old drift, where a road turns out through the Native Station to the new drift below; thence to "Buurman's Old Drift"; thence in a straight line, to a marked and isolated clump of trees near to and north-west of the dwelling-house of C. Austin, a tenant on the farm "Vleifontein," No. 117; thence, in a straight line, to the north-western corner beacon of the farm "Mooimeisjesfontein," No. 30; thence, along the western line of the said farm "Mooimeisjesfontein," and in prolongation thereof, as far as the road leading from "Ludik's Drift," on the Molopo River, past the homestead of "Mooimeisjesfontein," towards the Salt Pans near Harts River; thence, along the said road, crossing the direct road from Polfontein to Sehuba, and until the direct road from Polfontein to Lotlakane or Pietfontein is reached; thence, along the southern edge of the last-named road towards Lotlakane, until the first garden ground of that station is reached; thence, in a south-westerly direction, skirting Lotlakane, so as to leave it and all its garden ground in native territory, until the road from Lotlakane to Kunana is reached; thence along the east side, and clear of that road towards Kunana, until the garden grounds of that station are reached; thence, skirting Kunana, so as to include it and all its garden ground, but no more, in the Transvaal, until the road from Kunana to Mamusa is reached; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road towards Mamusa, until a road turns out towards Taungs; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road towards Taungs, till the line of the district known as "Stellaland" is reached, about 11 miles from Taungs; thence, along the line of the district Stellaland, to the Harts River, about 24 miles below Mamusa; thence, across Harts River, to the junction of the roads from Monthe and Phokwane; thence, along the western side and clear of the nearest road towards "Koppie Enkel," an isolated hill about 36 miles from Mamusa, and about 18 miles north of Christiana, and to the summit of the said hill; thence, in a straight line, to that point on the north-east boundary of Griqualand West as beaconed by Mr. Surveyor Ford, where two farms, registered as Nos. 72 and 75, do meet, about midway between the Vaal and Harts Rivers, measured along the said boundary of Griqualand West; thence to the first point where the north-east boundary of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River.

ARTICLE II.

The Government of the South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government of the South African Republic will appoint Commissioners upon the eastern and western borders whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing over the boundaries. Her Majesty's Government will, if necessary, appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the eastern and western borders of the South African Republic to maintain order and prevent encroachments.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African

Republic will each appoint a person to proceed together to beacon off the amended south-west boundary as described in Article 1 of this Convention; and the President of the Orange Free State shall be requested to appoint a referee to whom the said persons shall refer any questions on which they may disagree respecting the interpretation of the said Article, and the decision of such referee thereon shall be final. The arrangement already made, under the terms of Article 19 of the Convention of Pretoria of the 3rd August, 1881, between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs, shall continue in force.

ARTICLE III.

If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge functions analogous to those of a Consular officer, he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

ARTICLE IV.

The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

ARTICLE V.

The South African Republic will be liable for any balance which may still remain due of the debts for which it was liable at the date of Annexation, to wit, the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, the Railway Loan, and the Orphan Chamber Debt, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the Republic. The South African Republic will moreover be liable to Her Majesty's Government for 250,000*l.*, which will be a second charge upon the revenues of the Republic.

ARTICLE VI.

The debt due as aforesaid by the South African Republic to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. from the date of the ratification of this Convention, and shall be repayable by a payment for interest and Sinking Fund of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* shall be payable half-yearly, in British currency, at the close of each half year from the date of such ratification: Provided always that the South African Republic shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. on the debt as standing under the Convention of Pretoria shall as heretofore be paid to the date of the ratification of this Convention.

ARTICLE VII.

All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August, 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12th April, 1877. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connexion with such hostilities; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

ARTICLE VIII.

The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

ARTICLE IX.

There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

ARTICLE X.

The British officer appointed to reside in the South African Republic will receive every assistance from the Government of the said Republic in making due provision for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's Forces as have died in the Transvaal; and if need be, for the appropriation of land for the purpose.

ARTICLE XI.

All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, as defined in Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the South African Republic; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

ARTICLE XII.

The independence of the Swazis, within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

ARTICLE XIII.

Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

ARTICLE XIV.

All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

ARTICLE XV.

All persons, other than natives, who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April, 1877, and the 8th August, 1881, and who within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have had their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

ARTICLE XVI.

Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's forces.

ARTICLE XVII.

All debts contracted between the 12th April, 1877, and the 8th August, 1881, will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.

ARTICLE XVIII.

No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed between the 12th April, 1877, and the 8th August, 1881, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed between such dates.

All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for natives will remain in force, an officer of the South African Republic taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

ARTICLE XIX.

The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent, (1) as to the freedom of the natives to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions, (2) as to the appointment of a commission to mark out native locations, (3) as to the access of the natives to the courts of law, and (4) as to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

ARTICLE XX.

This Convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Signed in duplicate in London this 27th day of February, 1884.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON.
(Signed) S. J. P. KRUGER.
(Signed) S. J. DU TOIT.
(Signed) M. J. SMIT.

ADDENDA.

NOTICES OF THE BOER LEADERS.

STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER.

The Vice-President of the Boers is about 60 years of age, a native of the district of Cradock, Cape Colony, and one of the "voertrekkers," or original emigrants from the Old Colony, who trekked north to the Vaal River, while another branch came over the Drakensberg to Natal. Those "trekking" northwards remained longer isolated than the others; and several travellers have noticed the almost unnatural jealousy with which they kept strangers out of the country, under the influence of their leaders. The Krugers settled in the fertile district behind the Magaliesberg range; and Paul became a leader among his people, known as the "Doppers"—a kind of extremely advanced and strict body of Dutch Protestants; peculiar in dress, manners, and mode of life. "Oom (Uncle) Paul," as he is affectionately called, came first into prominent notice at the time of the civil war between the northern Boers and those of Utrecht, Wakkerstrom, and Leydenberg, under Commandant Schoemann—who had a kind of commonwealth of their own. Paul commanded the Northmen, and after an engagement they fraternized; and the Republic started anew under M. W. Pretorius, son of General Andries Pretorius, who was head of the Boers of Natal after the death of Maritz and Retief. Mr. Kruger has been in command in several wars, and but for incapacity from illness would probably have commanded the people at the attack on the stronghold of Secocoeni, instead of Cootzee (who acted a very peculiar part on that occasion), and possibly with a different result, as it is said that Paul believes firmly that he is ball-proof. Personally, Mr. Kruger is of middle height, and he is much respected by all who know him as an honest man and sincere patriot. During the troubles which ended in the annexation of the Transvaal, Mr. Kruger fearlessly helped his country's cause in purse and person. He made two journeys to London, protesting against the annexation, and although he had seen and appreciated the power of Great Britain, he did not hesitate to throw his lot in with the insurgents. A fuller description of his person and peculiarities will be found in Chapter XVIII., detailing my experiences in the Boer camp.

PETRUS JACOBUS JOUBERT.

The Commander-in-Chief, or Commandant-General of the Boer armies is one of those who reached the country *viâ* Natal—the family leaving that Colony on its conquest, or rather acquisition, by the British Govern-

ment. Yet the subject of this notice did not go far, as his "woonplaats" (farm) almost joins the Colony at its northernmost point; and he has many relations living in Natal. In many ways Mr. Joubert is a remarkable man, and may be called self-educated, until manhood never having seen any book but the Bible and Psalter. Indeed, he was 19 years of age before he saw a newspaper. Mr. Joubert led some expeditions against Kaffirs in the early days of the Republic, and some of his detractors say he was very severe on the natives in these raids. He was Vice-President during the rule of President Burgers, and acted as President during His Honour's absence in Europe, when the misconduct of Cooper Landdrost at Leydenberg is said to have produced the Secocoeni troubles, which stopped the flotation of the National Loan through Itsinger and Co., of Amsterdam, and caused the final financial collapse of the Republic. He also has been accused of being unduly influenced by persons of peculiar character; but no one has ever impugned his honesty of purpose or patriotism. Mr. Joubert was Kruger's colleague in the mission to London on both occasions. He is younger than "Oom Paul," and the improvement in his gait, dress, and manner on his return from London was remarkable. During his short visit to Pietermaritzburg to see Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Joubert freely expressed his opinions, saying openly that he regretted the step his people were driven to, as it was certain to retard the progress of the country and the people for many years. The compromise he would accept was—The Governors to exercise authority in the name of the Queen, but to be elective as were the Presidents; the restoration of the Volksraad, with additional town members commensurate with their rise; a Treaty, offensive and defensive, with South African Colonies; and a compact, or project of law, for repayment of Imperial advances; with a final *sine quâ non*, that no patronage was to be exercised by any authority or person foreign to the land.

MARTINUS WESSEL PRETORIUS.

This gentleman is the eldest son of the late Andries Pretorius, who was the principal man among the Natal Boers after the death of Retief; and whose mission to the Cape in 1847 in order to interview Sir H. Pottinger, and afterwards Sir Harry Smith, in order to represent the grievances of the Natal Boers, and his after rebellion in the Orange Free State, when he was defeated at the battle of Boomplaats, has been well described by Noble in his History, a summary of which appears in Chapters IV. and V. After the death of his father in the Transvaal, in 1853, he was selected to succeed him as the President, and under him in the course of the next few years a final union of the different contending parties took place. In 1859, when M. Boschoff, the first President of the Orange Free State, had resigned the office, out of four candidates nominated to succeed him, Mr. M. W. Pretorius was elected by a large majority of votes, and he accepted the post, leaving Potchefstrom, the then seat of government of the Transvaal, for Bloemfontein, where he remained up to 1863. He there earnestly strove for the union of the two Republics, but found that neither the Home Government would allow it, nor did the majority of the Orange Free State Burghers wish it. In 1863, Mr. Pretorius left the Orange Free State to look after his own interests in the Transvaal, where, after his departure, all had been anarchy, several parties striving for the ascendency; and he was soon reinstated as President, in which position

he remained until 1871, when, in consequence of a vote of censure passed upon him by the Volksraad, for the part he took in the "Keate Award," he resigned and was succeeded by the Rev. T. F. Burgers. Mr. Pretorius then retired into private life and looked after his extensive properties, remaining, however, always a member of the Raad, and sometimes of the Executive Council. At the time of the Annexation he took no active part in resistance, but was afterwards prominent among the leaders both by his moderation and advice. He was at once, upon the last rising, appointed as one of the Triumvirate, which position he still occupies.

DR. E. F. JORRISSEN.

Professor Jorrissen is the legal adviser of the Triumvirate—or, as they call it, "Staats Procureur"—a Doctor of Divinity, and a clergyman of some celebrity in Holland, and is known to entertain very broad and liberal views on ecclesiastical matters. He was brought from Holland by President Burgers, as Inspector of Education under that Government, and at the change which took place in 1875 was made Staats Procureur, or Attorney-General. Dr. Jorrissen is an extremely learned and talented man; but he is hasty, prejudiced and rather bigoted, and his temper is somewhat of the shortest. He is an irreconcilable, especially since his personal views were ignored and his office treated with very scant courtesy at the time of the Annexation, and although he remained for some time in office, under Sir T. Shepstone's administration, he never managed to "hit it" with the authorities. On this gentleman and Mr. Bok have fallen much objurgation from a portion of the Press, as having been the real instigators of the recent rising and of the previous discontent which led to it. They are described by even Sir Bartle Frere as not being at all representative men of the Boers; but they are at any rate much trusted and liked among them now.

W. EDOUARD BOK.

The "Staat Secretaris," the youngest of the quintette, was born at Texel, and is a son of the late Mr. William Bok, a native of Amsterdam who practised with success as an advocate at Texel, and was a member of the School Board for North Holland. His mother is living at the Hague, and one of the State Secretary's brothers is the minister of a large congregation at Amsterdam. He is a good specimen of an educated foreigner. His command of the English language and acquaintance with its literature is extensive. He accompanied the deputation to England as interpreter and secretary. He is about 30 years of age; and is a studious, thoughtful, and withal gay, genial man, who will probably make his mark in the world.

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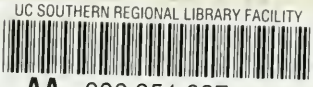
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